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## Editorial

THE EXPECTATIONS of the Extra Mural Department and the Editors in launching *Caribbean Quarterly* have been fully justified by the eager response to its appearance throughout the West Indies. Supplies of No. 1 are running low, inspite of the fact that we printed 2,000 copies. Our circulation is being built up on the basis of an annual subscription for four issues of the journal. So far the public has collaborated by subscribing. We now look for help by criticism, and contribution.

It may strike readers as odd that the article on West Indian Literature comes from the hand of someone who has never been in the West Indies. Mr. Swanzy, the author of the article, describes himself as "caretaker". As London editor of the programme "Caribbean Voices" many hundreds of West Indian manuscripts have passed through his hands. He daily awaits the end of his caretakership, and hopes to see some West Indian agency or agencies take over from him the task of collecting, assorting, criticising, and circulating the work of West Indian writers.

Our policy is to publish one or two poems, and perhaps a story of especial merit, every quarter. These may be appearing for the first time or they may have appeared in some local paper or publication. In order to do this work, we must receive copies of publications as they appear. We also hope that writers will send us manuscripts, so that the scope of our choice may be wide.

We also invite artists to assist us with the journal's cover. We should like them to send us photographs of their work which could be printed on the outer cover as part of the simple design. Photographs of drawings or engravings in black and white, of works of sculpture, and of paintings which are rather bold in form would be most suitable.

Finally, letters to the Editor could be considered for publication if they make a serious contribution to the problems they discuss.

This number of *Caribbean Quarterly* contains more articles than the last. Those who are looking forward to further news of the work of the Extra Mural Department will have to wait till No. 3, when we shall once again publish "Resident Tutors Notes".

## Great Men of the Caribbean

### I. Toussaint l'Ouverture

W. ADOLPHE ROBERTS

IT IS AN open question whether Toussaint l'Ouverture of Haiti, Simón Bolívar of Venezuela, and José Martí of Cuba are the three greatest men of the Caribbean region, but one of them . . . Simón Bolívar . . . easily stands first in any appraisal of Caribbean heroes, and must be accounted one of the outstanding personalities of all time. He is called The Liberator, because he freed five Spanish-American countries and eventually came to be recognized by every Spanish-speaking land in the New World as the supreme champion of the republican ideal. José Martí, a saint-like character, who gave of himself without stint, is known to Cubans as The Apostle. Toussaint l'Ouverture could wear either of these titles, and they would be more suitable than some of the pompous names that have been applied to him. But I prefer the title he bore when he joined the revolutionists against the French. He was The Healer, in the sense of the physician, and when we come to analyse it, that was the gift that he brought in a spiritual as well as a practical sense to the salvation of his people.

Chronologically, Toussaint is the first of the three. He was born about the year 1743, the son of black slaves on the Bréda plantation in northern Haiti. The full name given him was François Dominique Toussaint, and according to custom he bore the family tag of Bréda, after the plantation. His absentee master was the humanitarian Comté de Noé, who had given instructions that the slaves should be well treated ; and his boss was the equally kindly manager of the plantation, Bayou de Libertas.

Toussaint was a frail child with an inclination toward learning which his owners did not thwart, as most owners would have done. He was allowed to pick out his letters until he could read and write, though he was an adult before he attained a fair command of these accomplishments. The few books around the house were at his disposal. He began as a shepherd of goats. His passionate love for all animals attracted attention and he was made steward of all the livestock. Finally he was promoted to be coachman, a position of relative dignity, which, combined with his knowledge of herbs obtained from his African-born father, gave him considerable prestige with the Negroes of his own and adjoining plantations.

Toussaint reached his forties without creating the impression of being anything more than a studious, somewhat religious, hard-working man who did not resent the condition of slavery. Yet his secret views on human liberty were far otherwise.

There was being developed the most statesmanlike brain produced as yet by the Negro race in America—a brain with intuitions of moral leadership, and, what is more strange, with theories of military strategy that were to prove entirely sound. It is said that there was a manual of arms, with special instruction for officers, at the Bréda plantation. There undoubtedly was a copy of the Abbé Raynal's *Histoire Philosophique des deux Indes*, published in 1774, for Toussaint afterward declared that he had read it some time before the slave insurrection, and had been especially moved by the following paragraph :—

"Nations of Europe ! Your slaves are not in need of your generosity or of your councils, in order to break the sacrilegious yoke which oppresses them. The Negroes lack but a chief. Where is the great man ? He will appear ; we have no doubt of it. He will show himself ; he will unfurl the sacred standard of liberty. This venerable signal will cause to gather around him the companions of his misfortune. More impetuous than the torrents, they will leave everywhere the indelible traces of their just resentment. The Old World will join in applause with the name of the hero, who shall have established the rights of humanity. Everywhere the people will institute trophies to his glory".

The storming of the Bastille, the first overt act of the French Revolution, occurred in July, 1789. But it took two years of chaos in Haiti, of agitation among the mulattoes and the butchery of their leaders, of civil war among the whites—it took those two long years before the urge toward freedom came to a head among the Negro slaves. In August, 1791, there occurred what seemed to be a spontaneous outbreak on several plantations of the northern plain. It actually had been plotted by leaders of a crude type, notably a Voodoo priest named Boukman. The most savage excesses were practised, all the whites encountered being put to death without regard to age or sex. In return the French militia slaughtered every Negro found under arms.

The insurrection surged to the gates of Cap Français, now called Cap Haitien. It was repulsed there, with the loss of hundreds in dead and prisoners. Boukman was killed, his head cut off and raised on a pole within the city. Many of the captives were broken on the wheel. The Negroes in the field still had the upper hand, due to their overwhelming numbers. But their leadership was poor. Their new commander, Jean-François, was a windbag who dubbed himself with the fantastic title of Grand Admiral of France. It is possible that the Negroes would have been crushed if they had not had a great patriot, a genius, to come to their rescue.

Toussaint had refused to take part in the original uprising, because he had known that atrocities would be committed under Boukman, and methods of the kind disgusted him. He had held together the slaves on Bréda plantation, had sent his former mistress Mme. Bayou de Libertas to safety under the escort of his brother Paul. He now led his followers into the field and offered his service to Jean-François and the latter's associate Biassou. They treated him coldly, but recognized his standing as an amateur doctor and placed him in charge of all the wounded.

At once Toussaint's marvellous qualities as The Healer became apparent—healer of dissensions and warped ideals even more than of bodies, the inspired healer of the nationalist cause itself. It quickly became necessary to call upon his talents as an officer and he was made a Brigadier-General. He was then forty-eight

years old, more or less. Recalling the principles he had learned in the manual of arms, he introduced discipline among the volunteers, and he taught the rough chiefs how to practice diplomacy of a kind in dealing with friends and foes. His ability as a commander in action was obvious, even to the most jealous. I am of the opinion that he showed up better in the grand strategy of a campaign than in the tactical handling of any given battle. Where he had learned his technique is an unanswerable mystery. He was one of those born leaders of men who require no formal training.

I can barely hint at the confusion that prevailed in Saint Domingue for the next ten years. There were new revolutions and counter-revolutions—of the whites among themselves, the mulattoes in alliance with a faction of the whites and mulattoes on the side of the blacks, and other variations. Steadily, through it all, Toussaint rose to undisputed leadership of the only profoundly-rooted revolution, that of the slaves. Early in the war Toussaint changed his last name from Bréda to l'Ouverture. There has been much argument about the significance of the name adopted. L'Ouverture means in French "the opening". It has been said that he received it as a sobriquet because he had made a breach for his people in the ranks of their enemies. Some authorities think it more probable that fellow slaves had long applied the nickname because of a gap in his teeth.

After the beheading of Louis XVI in 1793, England, Spain and Holland went to war with France. The Spaniards threatened the colony from their half of the island, and the English sent an expedition from Jamaica to the southern peninsula to aid the white planters there. Toussaint was capable of duplicity when he believed that this would be useful to his cause. He was never bitter against republican France. He saw his country's future as that of a self-governing commonwealth under the French flag. But the French forces then in Saint Domingue were bent upon destroying the Negro bid for autonomy. So Toussaint went over to the Spaniards, was commissioned by them a general, returned with a well-equipped army of picked men and won notable victories over the French. A year later he held half the country, while the English held almost half, the independent mulatto general, Rigaud, a large district in the South, and the French only the town and environs of Port-de-Paix. Toussaint then entered into secret negotiations with the French commander, Laveaux, and agreed to change sides in return for recognition as the military chief and first magistrate of his people. He was made a French general.

He quickly drove out the Spaniards and inflicted severe defeats upon the English. In 1795 Laveaux was made Governor-General, and one of his first acts was to appoint Toussaint his chief aide with the title of Lieutenant-Governor. The Negro leader was the real ruler of the country, but there were still years of warfare ahead of him. He drove out the last English garrison in 1798, turned his attention to Rigaud and eliminated him with the potent assistance of Dessalines, a rising military star. Dessalines massacred the mulattoes with all the ferocity that had previously been directed at whites. Toussaint shook his head when he heard what had been done. "I told him to prune the tree, not to uproot it!" he remarked.

Toussaint then overran Spanish Hispaniola which meanwhile had been ceded to France. He entered the ancient capital of Santo Domingo in January, 1801, and became the unchallenged lord of the entire island a little less than ten years after the start of the slave revolution. Shortly afterward he proclaimed a

constitution, by the terms of which he assumed the office of Governor-General for life, with the power to name his successor. Note that he aspired only to be Governor-General. He sent his constitution for approval to the First Consul Bonaparte and asked that the country be recognised as a French protectorate.

Toussaint l'Ouverture was allowed just one year to function peacefully as the head of the state. He proved himself to be a far-seeing, humane administrator, in many respects a brilliant one. Again he manifested superb qualities as a healer. The country had been wrecked economically. Most of the old plantations had been devastated and allowed to go back to the jungle, the very tools smashed by ex-slaves who childishly felt that tools and sugar-refining machinery were symbols of bondage. Even before his conquest of Spanish Hispaniola, Toussaint had launched a plan of rehabilitation. Now he applied it on a country-wide basis. He invited those whites who had not been declared public enemies to come back from exile and reclaim their estates—and many did so. He leased confiscated lands to a selected list of Negro citizens, chiefly officers of the army, requiring them to pay part of their earnings to the government and part to the field workers on a co-operative plan. Labour was assured by adopting an ordinance against vagabondage which compelled the willfully idle to work on the plantations a fixed number of hours per day. The whole scheme proved remarkably successful. Shipping, particularly from the United States, began once more to crowd the ports of the country.

Toussaint indulged in a good deal of pomp and ceremony. He had a personal guard of 1,500 men whom he dressed in gaudy uniforms. Yet he was modest and simple in his private life. The only luxury he allowed himself was fine horses. He was very industrious, sometimes working eighteen or twenty hours out of the twenty-four and attending to every problem of administration with extraordinary efficiency. He insisted upon a rule of justice without the least trace of favouritism.

To the end of his life his French was imperfect. He always dictated in the Creole *patois*, which his secretaries rendered into formal language. He much preferred to speak the patois, and foreigners who attended his receptions thought him an unlettered man. But the scope of his knowledge, acquired by self-education, went far beyond the average. In the archives at Spanish Town, Jamaica, there is a fragment of a diary kept by Toussaint, which I have examined. The signature is bold and even. The body of the text was probably written by a secretary.

The lamentable decision of Napoleón to repudiate Toussaint's constitution and restore ordinary colonial rule in Saint Domingue led to the invasion of the island by a great European army in 1802. It was under the command of General Leclerc, Napoleon's brother-in-law. The Negro forces were simply overwhelmed. Toussaint himself was badly defeated at the battle of the Ravine aux Couleuvres. All the other black generals—Dessalines, Christophe and the rest—capitulated and accepted military rank under the French. Toussaint retired to his private estate at Ennery. He was basely tricked by means of a letter in which his help was solicited, induced to go to the seaport of Gonnaïves, arrested and sent in a warship to France, where he was imprisoned in a dungeon in the Alpine fort of Joux. Back home the revolution had flamed up afresh, with an epidemic of yellow fever as a potent aid. The unacclimatised French troops were dying at the rate of almost two hundred a day.

Dessalines and Christophe deserted Leclerc and resumed their leadership of

the masses. Again, both sides practised fearful atrocities. Step by step the French were driven from the island. Its independence was proclaimed under the Arawak name of Haiti, Dessalines assuming the title of the Emperor Jacques I. After only a few months of confinement the great Toussaint had succumbed in his cell, mainly of the cold, the physical evil he most dreaded.

Napoleon at St. Helena, nearly twenty years later, told his secretary that the Leclerc expedition to Saint Domingue had been a mistake, and that he should have been content to govern the island through Toussaint l'Ouverture.

*Two further articles in this series "Great Men of the Caribbean" by W. Adolphe Roberts will be published in later issues of the journal. These will be on José Martí and Simón Bolívar.—Ed.*

## And The Pouis Sing

C. L. HERBERT

*C. L. Herbert is a Trinidad poet, whose work has appeared in "Bim" and has been included in the B.B.C. programme "Caribbean Voices" from London.*

In far days in happy shires  
In the perfumes that all day creep  
From virgin mould, in the fires  
Of a sullen but tolerant sun, deep,  
Our roots drilled deep and found  
In caverns underground  
Sweet water  
Rich as the laughter  
That slept in Carib eyes before fierce slaughter.

Through the soft air falling,  
Swifter than the sleek hawk dives  
On the dove, on silent wing  
Pilfered their caciques' lives  
At our feet in our shade  
Where once they had played  
In childhood  
Children of the sun  
Who prayed to the sun to avenge their blood.

Hostile grew the sun and pitiless  
Spear sword arrow of light grew fiery  
And in the blindness of their bitterness  
Bored bird and beast and tree ;  
Under the whip of savage winds  
And intricate with wounds  
Necrotic flesh  
Fell fold by fold from flanks  
That never before had known the driver's lash.

Old, we are old before our prime  
(Springs of laughter ran dry  
And hearts atrophied) and in our time  
Have heard lips lift their cry  
To the stone-deaf skies, have seen  
How the hawk has been  
Stripped of pride  
In necessary propitiation ;  
In vale on hill where slave and cacique died.

Has  
Have seen from the blood arise  
The cactus, live columbarium  
Of the winged tears of indignant eyes,  
And from its flowers come  
Dim odours, sweetening the air  
Through the desolate years  
And bringing  
To brittle, barren hearts  
Auguries of new days, new faith, bright singing.

## The Aboriginal Remains of Trinidad and the West Indies—II

J. A. BULLBROOK

### TOOLS AND WEAPONS

THE most important thing to bear in mind concerning the culture of the West Indian aborigines is that they lived entirely in the stone age, until the arrival of the Europeans. They had no knowledge of any metal except gold, and that was known only in the Greater Antilles. Therefore all their tools and weapons were made of stone, shell, bone or wood. Stone being the most durable of all is naturally preserved best in the middens, so that we probably know every type used. It is somewhat surprising to find how few types there are. The best known, but not the most common, stone tool-weapon is the so-called axe or celt. These vary considerably in size, but none reaches the magnitude of axe-like implements, rare in Trinidad, but found fairly frequently in some of the Antillean islands. These were formerly ascribed to the Caribs, but are now *sub judice* as to origin. Some of them, though true to type, are enormous and far too heavy for any practicable purpose. We can only surmise that they were of ceremonial use. None of this large variety has yet been found in Trinidad, though many of the smaller have been found, especially in the south-west peninsular. This affords another problem in the archaeology of the Island. With two possible exceptions the writer has never seen any celts in Trinidad made of local stone. Practically all were imported ready made, from the Mainland and the volcanic islands. The most common stone object found in the middens—and it is found in hundreds, even in a small midden—is the pebble or boulder, formed by beach action and carried to the villages for probably a variety of purposes. These objects range in size from small pebbles to boulders as large as one's head, and are usually chert (flint) or quartzite, though occasionally softer sandstone is found. We know very little of the various uses of these stones nor why they were collected in such large numbers. From the bruising on many of them, we may assume that these were used as hammers. The use of the chert pebbles appears to have been mainly to afford sharp chips and flakes with which small bone objects were fashioned and ornamented. Such chert flakes are fairly common, as well as the chipped cores, showing their derivation from the pebble.

Sometimes pieces of broken celt seem to have been reworked. The only other worked stone objects found at all commonly are pestles and mortars. These are always small and never assume the proportions of many similar utensils of Carib

origin. Many other natural stone forms occur in the middens whose use, so far, we cannot even conjecture. Finally, there are of course, fragments of procellanite and other minerals used for pigment.

Of the bone objects found, probably only about two types can be classed as tools. These are the awl and needle and a group of small worked bone articles whose most probable use was in designing and finishing pottery. The awl, made from sharpened deer-horn, is fairly common; the needle, made from hard bird-bone, is very rare. Two excellent specimens are exhibited in the society's collection. Apart from bone objects used for ornament or magic, there are occasionally found artefacts of this material, whose use is, as yet, unknown to us.

The only object of shell which we may legitimately suppose to have been tools in the large sense of that word are of two types. The one, fairly common, consists of the spiral core of a conch shell, worn naturally by wave action and brought from the beach. It may have been used as a pestle. The other type is worked from the external portions of the conch and suggests use as a spoon. There is, however, one common material allied to shell—namely coral—which was used as a file or rasp in rough-finishing the bone artefacts.

Of wooden tools and weapons, naturally none has survived. We may infer from what we know—from the Spaniards—of the other islands, that the Trinidadians made basket work, and it is stated in the near contemporary work referred to at the end of the Introduction, that these people used the bow and arrow. If so the arrow tips were probably of hardened wood. This material is that most commonly used for the purpose by most of the forest dwelling Indians of South America, whether they use arrow poison or not. Also, even fish-hooks are often made of the same substance. We do not know whether the Trinidadians used the blow-pipe. It is possible, but not probable, because there are certainly no suitable canes (or reeds) indigenous to Trinidad. Even on the mainland, these grow only in a few areas, from which they are collected by the Indians living in the vicinity, who barter them over thousands of square miles.

#### DRESS AND PERSONAL ORNAMENT

In these matters, admittedly, our knowledge is meagre and mainly inferential. We know from the Spanish records, that in the more northerly islands the aborigines spun and wove cotton both for dress and ornamental purposes and so it is probable that the Trinidian did the same. The finding of the exquisite bone needles exhibited tends to confirm this although they could have been used also in stitching hides. The use of hides, however, is not at all common among the forest dwelling South Amerindians, because it is so extremely difficult to prevent their destruction in the humid forest atmosphere. It is highly probable, then, that the Trinidad Arawak did use cotton, but as to how they dressed we know very little. The dress was almost certainly scanty, being hardly more than a loin-cloth for the men and an apron or short petticoat for the women, as one sees even now in the Guayanás.

Of personal ornament we know a little more, because many of the objects used are durable and have been left in the middens. How far these were merely ornamental or had a magical or other significance cannot be discussed in this brief account. It is practically certain that both types existed. These objects consist, for the most part, of amulets and beads, using the latter term in a very wide sense. They are made of stone—sometimes foreign—coral, shell and bone. They are

of great variety, too much so to admit of detail here, but attention should be drawn to the carving on some of the bone ornaments and to the teeth of ferocious animals, such as peccary and crocodile, which were probably only allowed to be worn after passing the initiation test into manhood.

#### RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Exceeding few races of the world, since, at latest, the close of the earliest stone age, have been entirely without some form of belief in and practice of magic or religion. It may be assumed, then, that the original Trinidad Arawak was no exception, but our knowledge of his beliefs is very meagre. The Spaniards have left various records of the beliefs of the Caribs and of the Arawak of the Greater Antilles, but their observations were always viewed through and tintured by their own religion, and so their accounts are liable to be garbled, if not altogether untrustworthy. They will not, therefore, be quoted in this uncritical essay, but there is one fact of our own discovery which proves that these people must have had some kind of sincere religious belief. With every system of religion that has ever been recorded, there is, apparently inevitably, closely associated some dogma as to what happens to the individual after the death of the body. Usually, as Frazer has so abundantly shown, this takes the form of a belief in some kind of life, of longer or shorter duration, after this life on earth is finished. If, therefore, we find in any archaeological investigation, that provision has been made—even if it be only in a few instances—for the after-welfare of the dead, this is sufficient evidence that some kind of religion was believed and practised. Such is the case in Trinidad. Of the eleven human burials found by the writer in the Palo Seco midden two were buried with mortuary offerings, namely a water jar and food plates. Of the six human entities found in the Erin midden, one has been found with two complete dishes. There can be no doubt that these were intended to serve the deceased in his after life, whether or not water and food were originally placed in the vessels. Usually the skeletons are found in such a state of disintegration that only a few bones can be salvaged, but in this one instance at Erin, it has been possible to remove most of the skeleton, though crushed by earth creep, and so—for probably the first time in history—we have been able to exhibit a skeleton of a Trinidad aboriginal as he was buried.

#### ORIGINS AND CONTACTS

Many years of research on the mainland will be needed ere we can hope to solve the problem of the original homes both of the Carib and the Arawak. It is pleasing to know that such research is seriously being started up the Orinoco. It is supposed by most archaeologists that both races, in the first origin, came down that river, but beyond this there is little agreement. The writer believes that this surmise is open to question, though his reasons cannot be given here. Of one thing we are certain, namely that the peaceful Arawak came first. It must have been a very considerable time thereafter that the Carib migration took place, because the Arawaks had by that time spread as far as Cuba—travelling round the arc of the Antilles—and greatly improved their culture as they went. The Caribs, who followed, massacred the unwarlike Arawak men and absorbed the women, as they advanced through the islands and had just finished off Puerto Rico

and taken a good bite into Hispaniola (San Domingo) when the Spaniards arrived, and proved themselves even better at the game than the Caribs. One of the greatest problems we have to face is why the Trinidad Arawaks did not suffer the same fate at the hands of the Carib, especially since the very near island of Tobago was the first to be overrun, and was for many years after the Spanish discovery, one of the chief and most impregnable of the Carib strongholds. This problem would be less difficult if we knew that the Caribs never arrived in this island at all. There is no evidence that they did. No recognisable relics of them have been found in this island, although in near-by Tobago their occupation continued well into historic time.

We have seen that the Trinidad Arawak was also a good mariner, since he was an expert deep-sea fisherman and one of his most important tools was almost invariably imported. It is interesting to note that, while many of these celts can be shown to have come from the Northern Islands—by their rock types—a still larger number come from the Guayanás. This again tends to corroborate the writer's suggested source of the people's origin, especially since the rock types from the islands are vastly better for tool making than the fissile Guayana schists. It would seem that there was possibly a remembered sentimental value attached to the article made in the ancestral home.

Of other contacts we, as yet, know very little, but we are becoming ever more certain, as we work, that the Trinidad aboriginal did have contact with several other peoples than his congeners of the other islands and on the main. The evidence for this is growing, but is yet too obscure to be analysed here. All we can say is that it affords a very hopeful line of research, the latest evidence, based on pottery types, tends to indicate that there was commerce from this island as far as Puerto Rico.

This essay is admittedly sketchy for two reasons. Firstly it would defeat its purpose if it were too long or too critical. Secondly, there are many gaps in our knowledge, which can only be filled in the course of time. The Society has had only one season's work, and that work represents the beginning of the first really serious investigation yet proposed of the aboriginal remains in which Trinidad is now known to be so rich. It is true that other attempts at research have been made since 1912, but they were sporadic and—one has to admit it—sometimes not carried out with the scientific forethought so greatly to be desired.

#### SUMMARY

Our knowledge of the culture of the aborigines of Trinidad may seem somewhat meagre when stated with the brevity which is all we can allow in this summary, but if the reader will study the implications of each of the necessarily terse sentences, he will find that we really do know a good deal of the lives of these people.

The real aborigines of the West Indies were not Caribs<sup>1</sup>, but a physically similar, yet psychologically very different race, probably one of the various branches of the widespread Arawak stock.

The Caribs<sup>2</sup> followed, after a considerable lapse of time, and, with the exception of Trinidad—and possibly Martinique and Guadeloupe—they exterminated the unwarlike Arawaks, until they reached Hispaniola (San Domingo—Haiti), by which time the Spaniards arrived or exterminated Arawak and Carib.

alike. Why the Caribs never got a footing in Trinidad is a problem we still have to solve. As to why Martinique and Guadeloupe escaped their ravages is probably explained by the writer's own observations. At the time of the "Discovery" Martinique, at least, was found uninhabited, nor could the writer, through two years of work in that island, find any authentic aboriginal remains. Eventually he found, in the extreme north-west, an Arawak midden, buried under the strata of four eruptions from Mt. Pelee, prior to that of 1902. These four previous eruptions are unknown to history, but obviously there was a tradition of one or more of them among the West Indian aborigines.

The Trinidad Arawak was a mild, inoffensive person, a great hunter and fisherman, even into the deep sea. Therefore he must have been a boat builder of no mean order.

The people lived in small communities and built round, cool, yet draught and rain proof houses, with very little furniture save a few stools and hammocks. These "villages" were always placed either on high or windy places, so as to avoid mosquitoes and sand-flies as much as possible.

The people had another hygienic habit, in that they threw their rubbish into a communal dump, which was, where possible, either to leeward of, or "down-hill" from the village.

These rubbish heaps, which we know as "kitchen-middens", were also the chief cemeteries, although burials were occasionally made elsewhere.

Although undoubtedly the principal food of the people were flesh—shell-fish, fish, mammals, reptiles and birds, in that order—they did cultivate plant food in a rather haphazard manner. Since so few edible plants are indigenous to Trinidad and the near mainland, this cultivation was probably confined to cassava and pepper, but a few other plant foods may have been imported from the mainland, such as maize and beans, and even pineapple. Evidence is accumulating to show that the indigenous food plants cultivated in South America, and spreading therefrom were much more numerous in species, than had hitherto been supposed. It will be obvious that the plants imported will bear strict relation to their time of perfected cultivation on the mainland and the overflow of human population from the mainland to the Caribbean islands. Among the remains of the mammals used for food, have been discovered the bones of a deer now extinct and at no time known previously in Trinidad. This, of course, points to an occupation of the island for a very long time before the Spanish discovery.

The people were expert potters, though they knew nothing of the wheel. The pottery forms found point to individuality of work, rather than an esoteric craft. This is confirmed by the types of paste, firing and ornament.

The people obviously thoroughly understood the use of fire, which they made by friction of hard wood on soft or chert and Pyrites.

The aborigines were entirely in the stone age. Metals were unknown. Therefore all their tools and weapons were of stone, shell, bone or wood. All the last have inevitably perished, but many remains of the others have survived. The most important of these are (1) the celt, almost always imported ready-made and (2) the "handstone", of local origin, and of many purposes, some not known to us. In addition they used knives made of flint chips for a great variety of purposes.

They had to grind their pigments and probably some of their food. For this they used mortars made of a variety of stones, and pestles of stone and shell.

They knew the use of the file. For this they used cylindrical pieces of coral, with which they rough finished their shell and bone artefacts.

Probably, in ultimate analysis, most of their tools and weapons were made of wood. Of these, naturally, nothing remains, but we are not sure whether they used the bow and arrow. The paucity of birds represented in the food remains suggests that they did not. There are some aboriginal peoples in the Northern South America still existing, who do not use this weapon, and depend only on the deadly blow gun and a form of throwing spear or "dart". On the other hand the writer has met several peoples in South America who are very competent with the bow and arrow, but use it almost exclusively for the capture of fish. These people include "Bush Negroes" as well as Indians. Among all of them the writer cannot recall any instance of the eating of birds. The use of the arrow for fishing has produced one of the greatest skills that man has ever acquired :—the allowance for refraction and estimation of depth. Despite that handicap, the resulting catch is "uncanny".

Concerning dress and ornament, we may be sure that the people cultivated, spun and wove cotton. That this was stitched is proved by the finding of two exquisite needles.

Of bodily ornament, there are abundant examples. That many of these were associated with magical properties seems certain, and these include teeth of animals only allowed to be worn after the initiation into manhood.

That there was some form of sincere religious belief and practice is proved by the mortuary offering placed with many of the burials. This indicates beyond doubt that there was belief in some form of survival after earthly death, and such belief inevitably connotes a religious code.

We have seen that they could make voyages into the deep sea. Therefore their contacts with other races, both of the islands and the mainland, were probably numerous and frequent. It was thus that they derived their "celts" and possibly certain forms of pottery. What they bartered in exchange is still a problem which will only be solved after much research in the Guayana and Caribbean areas.

<sup>1</sup> Whence Caribs and Arawaks came is still a subject for research, but it is accepted, for the moment, that both came from the western mainland. The writer would compare them—of course on a smaller scale—with the western and southern migration of the Indo-Europeans. In this comparison, it is believed that both races sprang from the same stock, and that one—like the Aryan Indians—remained peaceful and conquered (perhaps the Cyboneys) by peaceful penetration, while the other, more migratory and restless, (like the very early Greeks and the early Persians) turned warriors, such as we know them to have been.

<sup>2</sup> There is one thing in which this publication may afford the opportunity—long wished for—of disabusing the Carib in the public mind. That he was a cannibal has to be admitted, but he did not eat human flesh because he preferred it. It is even possible that he did not actually like it. He ate no-one save a brave enemy, and he ate him entirely for the purpose of gathering to himself that enemy's bravery. To be eaten by a Carib was a compliment. The writer has met far worse cannibals in Africa, who ate human flesh when they were starved for other meat. The Carib scarcely enters into the archaeology of Trinidad, but he cannot avoid being mentioned, even if only because of the popular prejudice against him. He has been greatly maligned.

ERRATUM. The word CIBONEZ in Mr. Bullbrook's last article should read CIBONEY.

## Dialect

S. SHARP

"That comyn englishe that is spoken in one shyre varyeth from another. In so moche that in my dayes happened that certayn marchauntes . . . wente . . . for to refreshe them ; and one of theym . . . cam in-to an hows and axed for mete ; and specyally he axyed after eggys ; and the gode wyf answerde, that she coude speke no frenshe. And the marchaunt was angry, for he coude speke no frenshe, but wolde haue hadde 'eggys', and she understande hym not. And theene at laste another sayd that he woulde haue 'eyren' ; then the gode wyf sayde that she understande hym wel. Loo, what sholde a man in thyse dayes now wryte, 'egges' or 'eyren' ?

*Certaynly it is harde to playse euery man by cause of dyversite and chaunge of langage'.*

—William Caxton.

THE "diversite and chaunge of langage" which gave concern to Caxton in the fifteenth century is still with us ; there are still in England as many dialects as there are shires, and the spread of British colonisation since that time has added to the number. It is true that we now have Standard English, but even that started as a dialect, and in modern times has developed a number of offshoots. The "My deah, how too, too mahvelous !" of a class of English people ranks equal with the "Ee, by gum !" of Lancashire and the "No, man !" of the West Indies in the eyes of the philologist.

What, then, is a dialect, and how does it differ from a language ? This is not an easy question to answer. There is no essential difference between the two. Dialects sometimes shade off into languages over long periods and by insensible

gradations. Thus the break-up of the Holy Roman Empire caused Latin to throw off a number of dialects which gradually grew into modern French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and Rumanian. Perhaps one may say that it is the degree of differentiation from the standard speech which must be considered. Thus Jamaican is a dialect of English, but Welsh is a language—although they may be equally unintelligible to the uninitiated. A dialect is a mode of speech peculiar to an area, a class or a trade, and it may exhibit its own forms of pronunciation, vocabulary and idiom. A nice question arises in the case of the speech of the United States ; it certainly fits the test for a dialect, but it is much nearer Standard English than, for instance, broad Yorkshire. Perhaps, for the sake of international amity, we ought to concede its status as a language. Incidentally, we may note that it has in turn given birth to its own dialects.

The languages of Europe (and of the Americas, where these are of European origin) arose from Indo-European, a hypothetical language spoken by tribes living near the Black Sea, between what are now Russia and Turkey, about 2000 B.C. A thousand years later various factors caused a wave of migrations to the west, and Indo-European split into nine main dialects which, in the course of the next two thousand years, developed into the basic European tongues. It is interesting to study this process in greater detail.

In early times isolation had a strong influence on the development of language. Europe had many barriers, both natural and man-made. There were vast forests, deep rivers and high mountains, and transport was limited and inefficient. Political boundaries and serfdom further inhibited movement from the place of one's birth. Communities thus cut off from outside influences did not experience the standardising effects of wide social intercourse. We may assume further a great percentage of illiteracy, so that the relative permanence of the written word could not as yet exercise an effect. Over a period of years, therefore, minute divergences from the norm, hardly perceptible to the untrained ear, would be passed on orally from one generation to the next ; and since these divergences would vary from group to group, a whole system of dialects would grow up.

This process is the more intelligible when we remember that speech is produced by muscular movements. No two individuals can produce exactly the same sound. The ear may not be able to detect any difference, but over a period of centuries it will become apparent.

During such a period of development circumstances often combine to make one of these dialects or local languages the favoured one which gains the support of the cultured few, and that form of speech becomes in the course of time the 'official' language of the whole country. This process actually happened in England, where Chaucer in the fourteenth century wrote in the language spoken in the London district. It also happened to be the language spoken at court, and Caxton's introduction of printing half a century later facilitated the growth of this formerly local speech into a language which was ultimately to become modern English. Incidentally, Chaucer has a story in the Northern Dialect of his time, and this shows interesting variations from the language of his other poems. It also shows his humour at its most Rabelaisian.

I have mentioned isolation as a factor in the growth of dialects, but it is not the only one. Raiders and immigrants add their quota of influence, especially in island communities, where raiders may become settlers. Although they may

eventually be absorbed into a larger society, they usually leave traces of their language in the speech of their hosts. An interesting example of this is to be found in North-West Yorkshire in the North of England, where the Danish raiders of more than a thousand years ago have left their mark. To this day there exists a dialect word *dainsh*—obviously a corruption of 'Danish'—which gains its meaning of disagreeable and proud from the overbearing manners of the Viking conquerors who were attracted to the high moorland and fertile valleys of this part of the country. All the foreign invasions (hostile or peaceful) of Britain have left their mark on spoken English. This influence is more or less apparent in the modern English dialects.

Climate, too, makes a contribution, although the extent of this influence may be easily overstressed. There does seem to be some correlation between prevailing climate and the character of the language spoken; for instance, chilly Northern Europe produces hard-sounding, 'prickly' tongues like Dutch, German and the Scandinavian group, whilst the warmer lands bordering the Mediterranean give us the softer, more liquid sounds of French, Italian, Spanish and modern Greek. Some of the islands of the South Pacific where, at least until recent times, life was easy in a debilitating climate, have languages in keeping with this background. Professor Jespersen has pointed out\* that in the sentence—*I kona hiki ana aku ilaila ua hookipa ia mai la oia me ke aloha pumehana loa*—no single word ends in a consonant. If we except the liquid *l* there are eight words without any consonant—nearly one half of the total. Only six words contain a 'stop' consonant (*p, k*); it is, of course, such consonants which form the hard sounds, whilst vowels give a more fluid effect. Some people would tell us that these hard and soft languages are linked with a vigorous or easy-going character.

To some extent dialects exhibit the same influences of climate; thus Scotland is the part of the British Isles where the gutteral *ch* sound is most heard. Southern England has dialects which tend to be drawling and softer to the ear.

The last great influence on dialect which I shall mention is probably the most important; it is simply human laziness. Philologists dignify this phenomenon by talking of 'sound shifts' and 'mutations'. Briefly, it may be said that the sounds of a dialect generally tend to be modified in the direction of ease of pronunciation. Thus there is a tendency to what is known as the 'off-glide'. Pure vowels like the French *é* and *i* have to be pronounced with the muscles controlling speech tense and strained. For most people this entails too great an effort; the muscles are allowed to relax, and the pure sound 'glides' off into some other vowel. This constitutes the difference between, for instance, French *ces* and English *say*. The French word contains only one pure vowel sound; the English word has two, as its spelling indicates, the original vowel developing an off-glide into a *y*. It is difficult to represent this exactly without using a phonetic script, but the reader who doubts it is invited to repeat to himself aloud the words *say, I, war* and *fire* with some attention to what is happening in his mouth.

This tendency has gone so far in modern Standard English, and in many of the dialects, that more off-glides and diphthongs† are to be met with than pure vowels. In the West Indies the tendency is even stronger; in Belize one learns

\* In *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, by Otto Jespersen.

† Combination of two vowel sounds, as *o* and *i* in *boy*.

to discount the second of two vowels occurring in succession, so that *lee-ak* is recognizable as *leak*, *hoo-um* as *home* and *cle-an* as *clean*. In many West Indian territories the general slackening of the speech muscles converts *o* to *a*—the slight lip-rounding of an *o* demands some effort—so that one hears *lang* for *long*, *battam* for *bottom*; and the habit is carried over into such examples as *lak* for *like* and *ya* for *here*.

Consonants are subject to a somewhat similar process. Apart from the familiar West Indian *d* for *th* (French and German, too, avoid the *th* sound) and *b* for *v*, both of which are movements towards simplicity, there is an interaction of consonants in juxtaposition. To take one instance, there is a city in the North of England called Bradford, which most of its inhabitants pronounce *Bratford*. The reason for this lies in the difference between what are known as 'voiced' and 'unvoiced' sounds. A voiced sound is one which requires vibrations of the vocal cords; an unvoiced sound does not require this. Here is a list of a few voiced sounds with their unvoiced equivalents:

Voiced	Unvoiced
<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>f</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>
<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>

In 'Bradford' the voiced *d* is followed immediately by unvoiced *f*; the change from one to the other entails a slight but perceptible effort, so the Bradfordian tends to make both sounds unvoiced in order to conserve his energy for what he considers more important occasions.

Many English words of Latin origin were subject to a sound mutation known as Grimm's Law. This lays down that in the transition from Latin to English *p* becomes *f* and *t* becomes *th*; so Latin *pater* changes into English *father*. There were other changes too, but this single example will serve to suggest how the Latin dialects changed over the years so that the Romans themselves could not recognize them.

The word contractions common in Standard English, such as *won't*, *can't*, *I'll* and *we're* are present in even greater numbers in dialects, as one might expect. Readers of 'King Lear' may remember that Edgar, in his disguise as a Somerset rustic, threatens the head of Oswald in the following terms:

"Chill pick your teeth, zur."

*Chill* is a contraction of *ich will*—I will. It is interesting to note that this is identical with German *ich will*, with the same meaning. From Yorkshire we have *ammot* (am not), from British Honduras *haffu* (have to) and *gwine'a* (going to).

These varied influences are long-term in their effects, spread over a thousand years or more. Changes hardly perceptible in a man's lifetime have altered—

"He sceolde healden hi rihtlice beon and lufian hi, and hi wolden him beon holde and gehyrsume."

(*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, about 1100 A.D.*)

into—

"He should treat them rightly and love them and they would be faithful to him and obedient".

In this process of change the dialects look before and after. Sometimes they change more quickly than the standard tongue because they are not slowed down by the influence of the written word ; more often they retain words which were once part of the main language but have long since been discarded. Thus it comes about that the dialects often have a pungency and raciness which Standard English lacks. "*Too much hurry get dey tamarra : Tek time get dey tidy*"\* says the British Honduras Creole ; and "*Tha gurt gaumless clahtheead !*" says the Yorkshireman to his clumsy companion. *Gaumless* is a beautiful word. Colourless would-be synonyms like 'gauche', 'awkward' and 'clumsy' quail before the magnificent, all-embracing sweep of its implications. The word is probably Icelandic in origin. *Clahtheead* (cloth-head), too, has a satisfying sound. The clahtheead's wife, on the other hand, may be *as threng as Throp's wife*. Who Throp was and why his wife was so busy I have never been able to discover ; but there is no doubt of the verbal felicity of *threng*, perfectly conveying the bustle of a woman at her tasks. Similar triumphs are *tump* (hillock) from Worcestershire, *picknie* (child) from the West Indies and *bawbee* (halfpenny) from Scotland.

It is this vitality and appositeness, rather than their picturesqueness, which is valuable in our dialects. To maintain freshness and expressiveness after a long period of use a language must be kept alive by contact with reality and by constant recruitment of new words and expressions. Dialects provide this reality, for they are often the language of people whose lives are lived in close association with the natural world ; the words and expressions tend to be alive and forceful, redolent of earthy matters.

The original train of development which saw the rise of many dialects is nowadays being reversed. Class dialects (like the Mayfair accent) and trade dialects (*he nearly bought it when his kite pranged in the drink after a spot of rhubarbing*) continue, but area dialects are slowly dying, especially in highly developed countries. In England bands of enthusiasts form dialect societies and meet to keep alive the speech of the districts in which they are interested. One fears that they sometimes harbour condescension—"literary gents," as J. B. Priestley puts it, "having their fun". And ranged against them are the steamrollers of the press and the radio, ironing out local peculiarities and sometimes substituting English.

\* Quoted by A. H. Anderson, 'Brief Sketch of British Honduras', New Edition, 1948.

## Caribbean Voices

### Prolegomena to a West Indian Culture

H. L. V. SWANZY

*The writer of this article, occupies a peculiar position in West Indian Literature. Having been in charge of the B.B.C. programme "Caribbean Voices" for some years, he has probably read a wider variety of prose and poetry by contemporary West Indians than any other single person. We are very glad, therefore, of giving our readers an opportunity of reading some of his conclusions.—Ed.*

IT IS NOT inconceivable that of all the English-speaking world, the West Indies may be revealed as the place most suited for maintenance of a literary tradition. For real maintenance relies upon real development and to that almost every important factor in the Caribbean cultural situation conspires. Listed almost at random, there is the new social need for self-consciousness, which politically takes the form of Nationalism ; and to this we may add the special need to communicate provided by small islands, *isolated* as their very name implies. Then, as was seen by the late Harold Stannard, the racial stock of a potential writer is one of the richest in the world, providing wonderful chances of cross-fertilisation : European, African and Asiatic strains mingle, as with the Greeks of old ; as amongst Aegeans and Dorians of Greece, the Teutonic and Latin are contrasted. So far as the subject-matter is concerned, the self-realisation of a people through the acceptance and sublimation of the facts of slavery and the colour-bar are the grand theme for tragedy and eventual triumph. There is all the colour, there are the capes and promontories of a rich peasant life. And, linked with this, there is reverence for the word, preserved in a society still largely illiterate, unspecialised, given to open air gatherings. In the view of someone writing in contemporary Europe, this is perhaps the most important of all the factors that should encourage the development of a really significant regional literature within the Caribbean, the first stage towards the establishment of standards recognised in the wider English-speaking world.

*Reading makes a full man, writing makes an exact man, conference makes a ready man.* As we have seen, the last two necessities are as well met in the Caribbean as anywhere else. But what of the first ? It is the obvious and important gap in the West Indian scene today, and there is no need for me to labour it, for, without it, there would be no place for someone like myself in a magazine like this, an European producer of the B.B.C., writing on a sunny morning in London, of a country he has never visited and of problems that are not directly his own. The trouble for West Indian writers is that there are far too

few readers. In fact, with the exception of the week-end editions of the newspapers, the literary pages in the dailies, and the occasional gallant small anthology, of which one must particularly mention the Barbadian *BIM* under the editorship of Frank Collymore, there are no outlets or forum of exchange, except the B.B.C. No doubt, the extremely rare writer does write only for himself ; but most writers, like Dr. Johnson want to write to be read. And, failing the solitary and introspective genius, the only way of overcoming this isolation is through the organisation of clubs, which all too often fall into that bane of true literature, the mutual admiration society, with standards that gradually fall lower and lower, through refusal to make living contact with the outside world, either the metropolitan zones outside, or, perhaps even more dangerously, with the mass world about them. *Odi profanum vulgus.*

Now, what is the real reason for this state of affairs ? Because it is no use to think of changing it until we analyse the causes, and change them. And it is no use to talk glibly of a Caribbean culture, in its own right, before we build up a climate of ideas. Naturally, there is the entire preceding hundred years to account for, with its poverty, its materialist culture even less interested in literature and the things of the spirit than, for example the French, with their long tradition of humanism. But it is too easy to blame the class society. It is the sad truth that nearly all great literatures have, as their catalyst at least, an *élite*. This is often politically reactionary, since Beauty, one literary virtue, and the one most easily grasped perhaps, can frequently only be obtained at the expense of Goodness, as for example in the sacrifice of social justice in the creation of the leisure class, which, at least in the past, has been absolutely essential for the encouragement of really good writers, as opposed to those who are facile, popular, or with other social uses. For quality is a virtue that requires much schooling really to grasp. If we take this view, the absence of the apparatus of a literary culture in the Caribbean cannot be put down only to material poverty ; for, there has been a leisure class, however small, for some hundreds of years. Why then has it evolved nothing ? Pat comes the answer : because of colonialism and capitalism. It is true that the uninspired shibboleths of teachers who are not creators, have in fact saddled past generations of West Indian children with English classics, set for some distant examination. But why has there never been a literary revolt as in Scotland, a colony of England, a conquered colony, almost as poor as the West Indies, which has a continual tradition of poetic revolt against the major English centre ? Because Scotland was an independent kingdom ? That may be one answer, but it is not the whole answer. Then again, the reason for the lack of the beginnings of a West Indian culture is given as the materialist capitalist organisation in the last century. It is true that the plantation period produced far more numerous and better literary progeny than anything since Emancipation. *Colonisation est chosification*, according to Aimé Césaire, the Communist deputy for Martinique, and himself a poet of the surrealist persuasion : *colonising is thingifying*. There is a great deal of truth in this ; for an economic view of society, is purely statistical and purely quantitative, and totally unconcerned with quality, which is the essence of literature. On the other hand, with all its faults, there has been a certain development of literary culture in the French colonies, despite capitalism, or perhaps even because of it if we remember the theory of the leisure class as necessary for literature.

What then is the final answer? Of course, there is none: but, greatly daring, I would like to suggest one approach, if only to combat a dangerous tendency, observed in conversations with young West Indians in London, and in the body of the 750 odd manuscripts I must have seen in the last three years. That tendency is the blaming of external sources, especially the unfavourable circumstances of history, for the failure to produce. What I would like to suggest is that we should also consider geography, which is a far more intimate, indeed painful matter. Unless he is very gifted, or very happy in his society, the writer must also be a reader, and the exuberance, the *glory* that the Negro people saw depart *when buckra come*, must be accompanied by hard thought, comparative study, a sense sometimes of dedication, if a real act of creation is to ensue. It is, as it were, the masculine principle against the feminine. What seems to me the very great problem in a potential Caribbean literature, under capitalism, socialism, communism, nationalism, or any other ism, is in fact that tropical *dolce far niente*, the easy drift, the acceptance of the facile and immediately brilliant, the lovely flower that so quickly becomes over-blown. Without claiming omniscience, I have seen this tendency elsewhere, of easy synthesis, the parallel of the proliferation of organic molecules in the sun. I have seen it in other tropical writings more advanced perhaps than anything I have yet seen in the Caribbean, in Brazil, for instance, or Mauritius. Whatever the effect of climate, I think that it would be well if the West Indian writer bore such a question in mind, if only because it would force him back upon his own spiritual resources, in confronting the many very grave problems of his people.

By all that has gone before, it must be clear that, whether rightly or wrongly, I do not think that there is as yet any clear sign of a definite West Indian literature: that is to say, a literature so definitely different, that one has to rub one's eyes, and start anew at a passage, speculating on the questions, the moral imperatives that lie beneath it. Equally, the language is not yet in my opinion *sui generis*, although now and again I think I detect the rhythm of common speech, dying away in a fall in Jamaica and in Trinidad very fast, and shot out of the corner of the mouth. But I cannot detect more, because I am only a temporary caretaker and such things are for West Indian themselves. Of course I do not mean by language dialect language alone, although writers gifted with sensitive ears are able to reproduce rhythms and idioms which make their strong effect even on gross Northern senses. By language, I mean the climate of ideas, worked out by speculative minds, and put into words by sensitive artists. And the problem of relating a regional literature to a world-language like English is always this, the precise degree to allow for the common link of understanding, the precise degree to infuse it with local idioms, rhythms and, above all, values. I now intend to give some examples from the literary programme organised by the B.B.C. of work, which, if not specially West Indian, does at least show that the talent is there to provide the clothing for genuine self-consciousness in the high sense. For, writing and writers are not necessarily the founders of a culture, but its expression, the expression of the best thought of the age.

It is for this main reason that I would really select poetry as the main example of work in progress, rather than prose. Poetry is inevitably more highly organised, the poets show signs of having read \*more, of having more influences, and they

\*Prose influences seem to be Hemingway, Steinbeck, Dickens, Wells, D. H. Lawrence.

do not hesitate to make value-judgments, which are to some extent ignored in the prose, which tends to be descriptive writing. Nor, despite some excellently clear and honest writing, has any outstanding prose personality emerged, on a scale which can be as easily assessed. One knows of no profoundly original mind, except it be the quick mind of the columnist A. E. T. Henry in Jamaica. One knows of no profoundly moving style, except it be, very occasionally, Karl Sealy in Barbados. Of outstanding arrangers and harmonisers of social material, we know Samuel Selvon and Willy Richardson in Trinidad, or Inez Silbey, R. L. C. Aarons, John Mansfield in Jamaica. One knows of no remarkable internal ear, unless it belongs to Eugene Bartrum of British Guiana, or R. E. B. Braithwaite of Trinidad. One knows of no delicate and humorous fancy, except it be Eula Redhead in Grenada, with her jewelled *nancy* stories, or "Philip Phumbles" in Honduras, with his more pungent social humour. One knows of no power of conveying personal emotion in prose unless it is John Wickham of Barbados, now in Trinidad. One knows of no genuine social protest, except it be Roger Mais in Jamaica, or Clifford Sealy or Lennox de Paiva or Errol Hill in Trinidad. One knows of no blunt and affecting "peasant writing", unless it is William Arthur in Barbados, or Wilfred Redhead in Grenada. One knows of no brilliant pictorial talent, except it be "P. D. Lincott"; or of specific wisdom, except glimpses in C. M. Hope of Barbados. One knows of no general inventive capacity, except it be Ernest Carr and Egbert Gibbs, among the older generation in Trinidad, or Edgar Mittelholzer among the younger. And there are other prose writers one could mention, good but not outstanding, the *corpus* of the future laboriously constructing the groundwork *pour servir*, to serve those that come after. I doubt if it is necessary to point out that not all the creative writers of the Caribbean contribute to the programme, especially certain eminent practitioners in Jamaica.

So much for the prose, although it may be worth adding that one reader is now able to distinguish between a story written by a writer of Negro stock, and another of East Indian : the former much more concerned with dialogue, much less with scenery and pictures, perhaps more full of "heart", the latter in all ways the reverse ; an interesting racial observation which follows wider generalisations, and shows the difficulty of uniting the two streams and the reward when and if this is successfully achieved.

For the poetry, the story is different. I would put three and possibly four among the first class, and three among the class of *aspirants*, with honourable mention for perhaps two or three more. But personal comparisons are odious, and I do not propose to give the names of this private grading, since some of them will emerge in the examples that I give in the course of this enquiry.

For this is in fact to be an enquiry, slight though it will have to be, into the possible existence of something unique, of itself alone, in West Indian poetic writing.

And the answer might as well be given at once. There seems to be no specific gift-bringer to the Parnassus of the world, saying ; *Admit me, I come from the West Indies, with fruits that you can find nowhere else.* I think that all the better writers show signs of their origin, even when they are not specifically describing the West Indian scene, either natural or human. And I feel that a more elaborate psychological examination of some of them might reveal even deeper mysteries. But a pint of practice is worth a gallon of theory, and it may be worth starting off with one West Indian poet who would, for good or bad, be accepted on his

own merits by a London publisher. I refer to Derek Walcott, the phenomenal young school-master in St. Lucia, who is barely 19, but writes with the assurance of a man much older, in a volume of poems recently published. It would need two articles of this length to deal with it. Here I can give but one example :

After that hot gospeller had levelled all but the churched sky,  
I wrote the tale by tallow of a city's death by fire.  
Under a candle's eye that smoked in tears, I  
Wanted to tell in more than wax of faiths that were snapped like wires.

All day I walked abroad among the rubbed tales,  
Shocked at each wall that stood on the street like a liar,  
Loud was the bird-rocked sky, and all the clouds were bales  
Torn open by looting and white in spite of the fire ;

By the smoking sea, where Christ walked, I asked why  
Should a man wax tears when his wooden world fails.  
In town leaves were paper, but the hills were a flock of faiths  
To a boy who walked all day, each leaf was a green breath  
Rebuilding a love I thought was dead as nails,  
Blessing the death and baptism by fire.

That poem on the fire at Castries could have been written, I think, by any good young poet, influenced by the private poets like Dylan Thomas in England. But this is only as it should be ; for poets must always be influenced. Every word we use we have learned somewhere. I quote the poem because it is complete, and intelligible at a high level. Although Derek Walcott has written several poems on definite Caribbean themes, none of them are more specifically West Indian, and few are so immediately attractive. And indeed why *should* they, how could they, be *West Indian*, when we have said already that there is no West Indian canon ? It is work by men of talent like Walcott that will build it.

Next comes something very different :

There is a limit to all human ways  
There is a limit to all human love  
And a great darkness in all human light  
Yet faith flows down the river, peace fills trees,  
And glory lights the morning when she comes  
All wet and radiant from the golden clouds  
And walks upon the mountains like a bride.  
For there is promise in all human pain  
There is a morning in all human night  
And life and birth and beauty beyond death.

We have constructed Time with fear and greed  
We have imprisoned Space with avarice  
And murdered Life, the vision, with our sloth.  
We have constructed Time  
Constructed Time  
We have created Death in all our walks.

Here is a poetic personality more formed than Derek Walcott : the suffering pantheist, nurtured on the bible, who finds unity and beauty in the sun. He is Michael Smith, a young Jamaican anthropologist, now in West Africa, who came to Europe, and was influenced by the German poet Rilke.

And so one morning when he answered not  
She came and found his straw upon the floor  
Cold, and the goatskins untouched. Martha said  
"Jesus has gone into the wilderness".

Since first she knew that prayer had not ceased.  
"O God Almighty, give me back my child.  
Take this cup from me. Thou hast many sons.  
O Father, Father, give me back my light".

This was a land where rumour, like the wind,  
Bathing the cedars, swept the villages  
With a great mounting tide of mood and dream,  
Disabling the judgment of all fact,  
And so the news came in blue rolling waves  
That surged up suddenly and rushed and broke  
Upon her clouds, and thundered till the deep  
Swallowed the echoing heavens in their wake.  
And gave all calm an unreal sense of trance.

Michael Smith has eloquence, and a visual imagination, which he gives to a deep spiritual purpose. A. J. Seymour, an older poet, in Guiana, gives his force to simple narrative, on optimistic, forthcoming, American lines, and speaks of Columbus with the personal interest of someone really discovered.

Music came thundering through the North-East Trades  
Fuller than orchestras, and bent the masts  
All through the nights, and made them sorrow-laden

For green-graced islands that the ships had passed.  
Each day broke on the ocean like a wheel  
Bound to a hub of ships though driving fast

Deep to the westward under a sky now steel  
Blue-gray and fatal, and now sapphire blue  
Buttressed with golden evenings men could feel

All of their fears come mellow with the hue.  
Behind them lay the far and wistful heights  
Of Ferro and the Fortunate Islands and they knew

Back of these Spain, and widowed women, and light  
From lovely Palos glittering on the sea.

The full poem has more technical mastery than the others, and it is certainly less uneven. But it does not perhaps aim so high. "Political verse", it does not have the direct impact of George Campbell in Jamaica.

She sings triumphant and with notes held long  
She sings of mighty rivers  
She sings of noble givers  
And with accents strong  
She sings of the African womb  
Everlasting above the tomb  
She sings of her island Jamaica  
She sings of the glory of Africa.

or,

New-world flowers  
Spring-time Negroes  
The land calling  
Clean fresh showers  
Of rain falling.  
The Grecian heroes  
Even features ;  
These new creatures  
With strong noses  
Life exuberant  
Walking about the world today.

Magnificent rhetoric, but to an outsider, it is in none of these poets that one finds the special flavour of a new voice. This may be secreted in three poets writing in Trinidad, although one of them, G. W. Lamming comes from Barbados.

We looked on your countenance and found nothing  
That we could recognise, nothing to revive the memory,  
You had lost your tears, offered them back to your mother,  
Mended your prodigal ways and returned to your mother.

And so we wished that time and the age would change,  
Your mother would unclasp her arms, grant you your will,  
Perchance your lover should come back, take your hand  
And make you what you were before, a little island.

I cannot remember any original music of which this is an echo. Another very young poet in Trinidad, C. L. Herbert, also has a power of phrase.

He whose blind quest for his mother's breast  
Ended, his lifeline frayed by nibbling bullets,  
As August unfurled her sixteenth morning . . .

But the stanza that I always myself quote, which brings goose-flesh to my neck as I hear it, the sure test of poetry, is one by Harold Telemaque, an uneven writer, but one who is a true servant of his Muse.

In our land,  
We do not breed  
That taloned king, the eagle,  
Nor make emblazonry of lions :  
In our land  
The black birds  
And the chickens of our mountains  
Tell our dreams.

I hope that when, as is not so impossible in these days, a really good anthology of West Indian writing of the modern age is made, that that will form the dedication. The compilation will depend on further sifting. In the meantime, I should like to suggest that newspapers show the same alacrity in printing poems and short stories criticised as they show in reprinting the criticism of writers in England.

The main value of a programme like *Caribbean Voices* is to provide an outlet for writers who would otherwise be mute, a means of inter-communication with like minds, and, if anything so sordid can be mentioned, money, for it must not be forgotten that the B.B.C. is subsidising West Indian writing to the tune of £1,500 a year in programme fees alone. It is for this reason that we encourage "local" writing, descriptive and otherwise, as well as for the more obvious reason that people write and speak best about the things they have made most their own, which in most cases are all the little details of personal living to which they bring almost automatically the writer's discipline of speech and selection. I do not know whether listeners have learned anything more about themselves from the countless little stories and sketches about aspects of present life, in country and town, in work and leisure, in race-conflict, and class-conflict, in humour and tragedy. I know that it has made the region alive to at least one reader in London, who has difficulty at times in visualising the West Indian scene. The time allowed is of course not enough to build up a cumulative effect ; but if at any time there appears a talent (usually a prose talent) which needs 3,200 words to make its effect, and not 1,600 only, they may rest assured that they will be given the outlet.

## **An Experiment in Land Settlement at Lucky Hill, Jamaica**

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IN HIS 1940-42 report on Development and Welfare in the West Indies, Sir Frank Stockdale states that land settlements have been established only as palliatives to agrarian discontent. This fragmentation of properties into small, and in the main, uneconomic units has been undertaken with little caution and with a singular lack of regard to the profound social and economic problems which are involved. All evidence points to the creation of small holdings on an unrestricted freehold basis as a very costly undertaking and, as a rule disappointing to both settlers and Government. Yet it remains the popular choice of Jamaica. It is often stated that the provision of land spells freedom and that because of the past evil days, the Jamaican peasant of African descent has an innate desire to own land, to be his own master rather than serve an employer. The opinion is ventured that there is little in this popular contention. Several generations have passed since the days of slavery, days which were of short duration as compared with the days during which the race has existed, and in the very many days before slavery, no land in West Africa was owned by the individual. It would seem that in Jamaica as in fact all over the present day world the desire is not really for land but for a regular source of income and some form of security. The land offers a way of life to meet these needs, but if it is to meet them, it must be carefully used and conserved. All over Jamaica land has been exploited ; fertility has to be restored and maintained, a difficult problem requiring scientific skill and heavy expenditure. The peasant of Jamaica can provide neither of these.

#### OBJECTS OF THE SCHEME

In its broad concept the Lucky Hill Scheme was to test out a method of introducing Agricultural workers to estate-scale agriculture. All persons engaged on the project were to have a say in the management of the property and a financial interest in its operations. The property was to be developed and worked as a single unit. If the scheme proved to be workable, the means whereby a lease of the property could be granted to the settlers by Government were to be investigated during the period of the experiment and due regard was to be paid to the future rights, privileges and obligations of Government, the Community and the individual settler.

The efficient use of land was an important item in the scheme but it was realised that no matter how efficient land use may become in Jamaica the rate of increase of the population through illegitimacy and unrestricted families was an extremely disturbing factor which would render negative any satisfactory efforts to increase the productivity of the soil. It was considered that pride in the family and the home might do much to combat this very vexed problem and at Lucky Hill a prominent place in the development projected was to be the family unit as the basis of the community with every effort directed towards making the homes as comfortable and the surroundings as pleasant as possible.

Other factors allowed for in the experiment were the education and training of the persons participating in the scheme to develop initiative and self-help and to foster among themselves the spirit of co-operation in all its aspects.

#### INCEPTION OF THE SCHEME

The project may be said to have had its origin in 1940. In that year the Government Food Production Board, with the object of furthering the Food Production Campaign and at the same time providing relief for unemployed agricultural workers, leased, with the option to purchase, Lucky Hill Pen, a cattle property of some 873 acres in the Parish of St. Mary. Funds for operating the scheme were provided by Government. In the vicinity of Lucky Hill Pen is Walkerswood district, where a Pioneer Club, sponsored by Jamaica Welfare Ltd., was in operation. On the invitation of Government, the Pioneer Club agreed to operate 100 acres of the project on a communal basis. The operation of the project was placed in the hands of a committee of interested persons and representatives of the workers under the chairmanship of an officer of Jamaica Welfare Ltd. It was felt that by this arrangement, social welfare activities among the workers would receive attention. Subsequently, four more pioneer clubs were formed in the vicinity of Lucky Hill and eventually all operations on the Lucky Hill property were conducted by these clubs.

After operating on this basis for some time it was found necessary to transfer the supervision of the scheme from the Government Food Production Board to the Department of Agriculture. This transfer was effected in 1942 by which time Government had sustained very considerable financial losses. The scheme was now completely revised in accordance with the recommendations of Mr. A. J. Wakefield, then Agricultural Adviser to the Comptroller of Development and Welfare in the West Indies. Assistance in the proper financing of the scheme was forthcoming from Colonial Development and Welfare funds, and the Government

of Jamaica agreed to provide a working advance account.

Theoretically, a start was made with the new scheme on 1st April, 1943, but for some reason it appears that the need for a valuation of the property was not appreciated and no valuation report was prepared. A two-year period of muddling and misunderstanding followed and the scheme continued to be operated at a loss. The position was again reviewed on 31st March, 1945.

A fresh start was made on 1st April, 1945, by which time the membership, with a single exception, had been reduced to the original members of the Walkerswood Pioneer Club. Members, in addition to supplying labour, had their own cultivations in outlying parts of the property, and some were actually employing labour to work for them. Privately owned cattle were allowed to run with the cooperative herd. Members found their own markets for their produce; some sold milk to the Condensery. The whole set-up was a travesty of the collectivist farm which had been the objective of the new scheme.

Since the fresh start, however, abuses have gradually been removed and there has been a steady growth of understanding and confidence in the scheme. Modifications in the original scheme have been introduced in the light of experience. The experiment is in its final stages and plans are now ready for the future of the scheme.

#### FINANCING OF THE SCHEME

This experiment as Scheme D550 was approved and funds provided under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act in 1942. The sum approved was £19,535 covering both grant and loan.

From the approved sum Government took £4,100 for the purchase of the property. Actually the final figure for the purchase was £4,061 os. od. It was decided that the property would be rent free for five years and that the rental would be 3 per cent. of the purchase price. The rental was instituted on 1st April, 1948.

Of the balance of the approved sum funds were allocated as follows :—

£7,500—as a loan for the provision of housing, at the rate of 3 per cent. interest and 3 per cent. sinking fund as soon as the total loan had been taken up.

£5,000—as a grant to assist in the development of the property as a mixed farm. The sum was allocated under clearly defined sub-heads.

£2,285—to provide the wages of an Overseer and Assistant Overseer for a period of five years.

#### MANAGEMENT

The management of the experiment was vested in a Managing Committee working through a committee of the settlers and guiding the work of the Overseer through an Executive Sub-Committee.

The Managing Committee was appointed by the Governor and was composed of the following :—

A nominee of the Director of Agriculture (Chairman),

A nominee of the Financial Secretary and Treasurer,

A nominee of Jamaica Welfare (1943) Ltd.,

Three persons resident in the Lucky Hill area selected by the Governor,

The Chairman and two members of the Settlers Council.

The Executive Sub-Committee was composed of the three Lucky Hill area residents and had as chairman the President of the Settlers Council.

The Settlers Council was composed of a Chairman and two members who were elected annually by vote at a general meeting of the settlers.

The Managing Committee held quarterly meetings while its Executive Sub-Committee met fortnightly and, later, monthly. The members of the executive were always available for consultation with the overseer and the Department of Agriculture was represented at all sub-committee meetings in an advisory capacity.

The Settlers Council held monthly meetings and emergency meetings as were required.

For the purposes of education in the details of the scheme the settlers met in general assembly once per month and these meetings were attended by various members of the Managing Committee, Welfare Officers and interested visitors who took part in the discussions and deliberations. To further the work of the assemblies the members were formed into small study groups and these groups also undertook various 'working together' projects.

This organisation permitted of approach by the Managing Committee to the individual settler and also of the individual settler to the Managing Committee.

The terms of reference of the Managing Committee, the Executive Sub-Committee and the Settlers Council were laid down in the printed Wakefield memorandum on the scheme.

Broadly, the functions of the Managing Committee were, in consultation with the Settlers Council, to define the objectives of the project, to determine and submit plans of work together with estimates of expenditure on capital works and the general operation of the property, to ensure that approved works were properly carried out and to have all monies brought into proper account.

The Council, apart from transmitting suggestions on the development and operation of the property to the Managing Committee, was held responsible for the good conduct of all members, ensuring that all rules were adhered to and the instructions of the overseer obeyed. The Council was also responsible for the election of new members and the expulsion of persons who were considered undesirables.

Unanimous agreement between the settlers and the Managing Committee was reached in regard to the distribution of profits and effected according to plan, on the approval of the Governor.

The Settlers Council was also required to form holiday and sick benefit, canteen and education sub-committees.

#### FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The financial administration fell under two heads :—

(a) Operation of Colonial Development and Welfare funds.

(b) Operation of the Working Account.

The detailed accounting required by Government proved to be a matter of some concern but eventually difficulties were overcome by allocating duties in connection with costings to the assistant overseer and detailing an accounting officer of the Department of Agriculture to maintain the accounts and prepare regular

financial statements. The accounting officer was awarded an annual honorarium of £25 os. od. for his services.

Subsistence wages were paid to settlers for duties and tasks assigned by the Overseer. The rates were similar to those on neighbouring properties and were equivalent to wages which varied from £2 os. od. per week to 3/- per day. A strict account of each man's earnings and the number of days worked was kept. Wages were paid fortnightly.

Outside labour for property operations was employed in rush periods but gradually the need for this was reduced to a minimum. It was found from experience that it was best to detail settlers for work on the property operations and to employ outside labour for capital works.

From 1945 profits were realised and were distributed in the following manner :—

- (a) 10 per cent. to Reserves,
- (b) 2½ per cent. dividend on Share Capital of individual settlers,
- (c) The balance to settlers as divisible bonus of which one-third was credited to the members' share capital accounts.

In 1948-49, in accordance with a previous decision of the settlers, the divisible bonus was distributed among those settlers who had performed 200 days work on the property during the year except in the case of unavoidable circumstances and the maximum earning on which profits to the individual was calculated was £40 os. od. per annum. This arrangement allowed for an equitable distribution of the profits to hard-working settlers while the value of any member to the community was recognised by the differential in subsistence wages.

#### MEMBERSHIP

The member capacity of the property has not yet been accurately determined. Membership in accordance with the Wakefield Memorandum was restricted to men and the original suggestion was that there should be 75 members. The Managing Committee decided on a membership of 50 men as a first target. This figure was reached in 1948 but was later reduced to 33, mainly by the expulsion of undesirables. Arrangements are in train to elect to membership well tried youths who have passed through an Agricultural Practical Training Centre and a Student-Apprentice Farmer Course of the Department of Education.

An applicant, if accepted for membership, had to pay an entrance fee of 2/6 and had to serve a period of probation of six months. If found to be satisfactory he was elected to full membership and was required to take out a minimum of five shilling shares. Thereafter a man was entitled to the rights, privileges and obligations of membership and the continuation of membership was subject to his abiding by the rules of the community and of the scheme.

A member was required to live on the property as soon as a house could be provided. After it became possible to provide all settlers with houses no rentals were charged but until this could be done a nominal rental of 5/- per month was levied. Around each house was reserved approximately  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre of land on which a settler was allowed to cultivate food crops for his family's needs. Settlers were required to develop soil conservation measures in their gardens in such a manner as would conform to the general plan for the residential area.

Priority of houses was given to married settlers who on taking up residence

were required to give proof of marriage to the Council. No concubinage was permitted. Bachelors were allocated houses on the understanding that they would have to share houses and make messing arrangements as more houses were required for married couples.

Shares were refunded to men who ceased to be members and arrangements were made to pay over share capital to the heirs of any deceased member, together with all interest and bonus due.

#### POLICY AND WORKING PLAN

One of the objectives of the Managing Committee was to demonstrate to the settlers the efficient use of land within the property boundaries and at the same time to aim at a balanced economy. No plan of the property was available and the task of making a compass survey of all fields and building up a composite plan was undertaken by an officer of the Department of Agriculture. Lands thereafter were defined and reserved as suitable for—

- (a) cultivation of food and field crops by mechanical means,
- (b) permanent crops to be undercultivated by hand during period of establishment of the crops,
- (c) pastures,
- (d) afforestation,
- (e) woodlands to be left as such.

A road system was planned and sites were selected for farm buildings and housing.

#### CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT 1943-49

Permission was obtained to extend the experiment beyond the five year period as originally planned, and it will be brought to finality at 30th June, 1949, when the funds for the wages of the overseer and assistant overseer will become exhausted. The Housing loan and the capital grant for development were fully expended by 31st March, 1949.

In addition to the £7,500 loan, £115 os. od., then the available share capital subscribed by settlers, was expended on the following :—

- One Overseer's House
- One Assistant Overseer's House
- 31 Cottages for settlers.

The cottages were constructed of an hardwood framework supported on concrete pillars, walls of Spanish walling (stone, marl and lime) faced with lime plaster, roofs of shingles or sarking with 'paroid' continuous roofing material and steps and floors of verandah, kitchen and bathrooms of concrete.

With few exceptions all cottages were built to one pattern, a modified type of the Central Housing Authority, and consisting of two bedrooms 10' x 10', a central room 10' x 14', and a front verandah 10' x 6'. Separate are a kitchen, bathroom and pit latrine. All cottages have electric light and there is a piped water supply with a stand pipe for every two or three cottages.

All building materials possible were extracted on the property, lumber and shingles prepared in the property sawmill and all materials made over at cost only to the housing account. All housing was insured against fire, hurricane and earthquake and the annual premium is £124 os. od.

### *Property Development*

Expenditure of the £5,000 grant was as under :—

		£	s.	d.
Farm Buildings	...	...	...	1,538 11 9
Light, Power and Water Supply	...	...	...	591 16 8
Livestock	...	...	...	499 18 4
Machinery and Equipment	...	...	...	287 13 11
General Development	...	...	...	2,081 19 4
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		£5,000	0	0

For this expenditure the property was equipped with a modern dairy with mechanical milking and dairy apparatus, an electrically driven shingle sawmill, an office and equipment store, a crop store with drying trays and a barbecue. An underground river was tapped and water lifted by deep well electric pump to a storage tank on the highest site on the property from where the water was piped by gravity to the points where it was required. Three ponds were reclaimed and put in order. Walls, fences and gates were all overhauled or renewed. An adequate road system was developed. Agricultural machinery and rolling stock as were required were purchased with draught stock. A selection of good foundation dairy and beef cows was added to the herds taken over.

54 acres of citrus (Marsh Seedless Grapefruit, Valencia and Parson Brown Oranges) were established. Some 14,000 trees, mainly mahoe, *Hibiscus elatus*, were planted out in areas selected for afforestation. In preparing arable lands and orchards due attention was paid to soil conservation measures.

### PROPERTY OPERATIONS

The economy was based on field and orchard crops, a few pigs, dairy and beef cattle, and to these farming activities were added the extraction and preparation of building materials and the operation of a sawmill.

The relative importance of the property operations can perhaps best be indicated by furnishing the revenue figures for the last two years.

		1947-48	1948-49				
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Field Crops	...	...	984	0 8	2,279	14	8
Orchard Crops	...	...	90	3 10	188	18	11
Milk	...	...	292	19 5	387	17	9
Cattle	...	...	406	0 0	290	3	6
Pigs	...	...	11	0 0	9	3	0
Property Building Materials	...	...	778	0 2	1,334	7	4
Rent and Electric Light	...	...	32	7 7	89	5	0
Miscellaneous	...	...	16	9 0	27	16	6
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		£2,611	0	8	£4,607	6	8

### *Field Crops*

In the plan for proper land use only 90 acres could be set aside for mechanical cultivation. Preparation of the land is now done by a local contractor who is participating in the Farm Implements Scheme of the Department of Agriculture. A rotation involving roots, pulses, grain, vegetables and fodder grasses was worked out and is now being followed. In addition to the arable lands the citrus orchards are being under-cultivated with pulse crops for as long as possible. Plantains, bananas and pineapples were established in some fields.

### *Orchard Crops*

In addition to the 54 acres of orchard citrus there are semi-wild sweet and bitter orange trees on the property in the pasture lands. The Community was registered as a member of the Citrus Growers Association.

Pimento trees are also scattered through the property but the average annual crop is only about 400 lb.

A small avocado pear orchard was planted in the early days of the scheme and trees are now fruiting and yielding small income.

Coconuts were also planted in the early days although the area which is over 1,000 feet above sea level is not suitable for this crop. However, of the 524 seedlings planted in 1940 some which are under-cultivated and heavily manured are bearing nuts. A coconut nursery was maintained for supplying seedlings to local planters and this proved quite a lucrative undertaking.

Seven acres were reserved for planting out with the high yielding strains of cocoa now being made available by the Department of Agriculture and bananas, plantains and breadfruit were planted to provide temporary and permanent protection for the cocoa.

Two acres were prepared for a coffee plot and the establishment of a mixed plot with coffee as the important crop is being supervised by the Coffee Officer of the Department of Agriculture.

### *Livestock*

*Dairy Cattle.* By culling and purchasing better stock and by the use of a series of pure bred imported Guernsey bulls made available by the Department of Agriculture under a Loan Bull Scheme it was possible to build up a very high grade Guernsey herd. At 31st March, 1949, this herd totalled 93 head, including 46 cows, and was valued at £1,388 10s. od. Milk production during 1948-49 was 29,920 quarts of which 16,321 quarts were sold to the Condensery.

*Beef Cattle.* A small herd of grade red poll cattle was maintained and run on the outlying pastures. Young steers were purchased locally when opportunity permitted and fattened for sale. At 31st March, 1949, the beef herd totalled 52 head and was valued at £680 os. od.

*Working Stock.* At 31st March, 1949, there were 26 head of working stock on the property. The 14 mules, 2 horses and 10 steers were valued at £510 os. od.

### *Extraction, Preparation and Sales of Building Materials*

The materials which were extracted and sold locally or made over to the building programme were cedar and hardwood lumber, cedar shingles, stone, marl and white lime. The sawmill was not put into operation until June 1948, but by

the end of the 1948-49 financial year 62,400 shingles had been sold.

Apart from every settler having subsistence wages at the usual rates, a free house and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an acre of land to cultivate, the settlers shared the following profits after deducting 10 per cent. for Reserves :—

	£	s.	d.
1945-46	...	76	9 9
1946-47	...	54	8 4
1947-48	...	220	13 6
1948-49	...	215	7 6

General expenses including such items as interest on loan, rent, insurance, travelling of the overseer and the maintenance of the property and equipment amounted to £740 15s. od. in 1947-48 and £1,414 12s. 5d. in 1948-49, which figures provide enough evidence of the attention given to the maintenance of the property, buildings and equipment.

#### WELFARE ACTIVITIES

The Managing Committee was assisted in some measure in developing certain welfare activities among the settlers by the officers of Jamaica Welfare (1943) Ltd.

An old wooden shack on the property was converted into a school room. A kindergarten school with 19 pupils and with the wife of the Assistant Overseer as teacher was started off in October 1948. Remuneration of £1 os. od. per week is now paid to the teacher by the Community.

This Club was administered by a sub-committee of the Settlers Council assisted by the one lady member of the Managing Committee. Members were required to make a compulsory subscription of 2/- per month and were eligible for full benefits on payment of the first subscription. This Club inherited £25 os. od. from the Walkerswood Pioneer Club. A miniature Agricultural Show and fete day was held to augment the funds. This Club functioned very satisfactorily.

This also was operated by a sub-committee of the Council. Another old shack was converted into a shop. The Club became a member of the Cooperative Wholesale and goods, when transport arrangements permitted, were purchased through the Wholesale organisation.

A cricket pitch was rolled out and some second-hand gear was obtained.

Training courses to educate settlers in the principles of the scheme and to develop leadership were held several times by Jamaica Welfare Officers.

On several occasions short courses were given by officers of Jamaica Welfare on nutrition, cooking, weaving and other homecrafts to the wives and daughters of settlers and on carpentry and furniture-making to the men themselves.

#### FUTURE OF THE SCHEME

The Managing Committee gave considerable attention to the future of this scheme as members are fully convinced that the Lucky Hill form of land settlement provides at least a part answer to the vexed problem of land settlement in the West Indies.

Proposals have been submitted to Government to the effect that the settlers should be formed into Lucky Hill Farming Cooperative Society Ltd., the Society together with its rules to be registered under the Cooperative Societies Law which, it is hoped, is about to be enacted. Comprehensive rules to govern the operation

of the Society have been prepared and are at present being considered by the settlers and members of the Managing Committee.

It is further proposed that the settlers should be given a 99 years lease of the property and that this lease should contain a special agreement to provide funds as may become necessary for the operation of the property. The rent is suggested as 3 per cent. of the purchase price of the property as at present arranged and according to the terms of the lease Government would agree to furnish loans at 3 per cent. interest for any further capital development, including housing and for the provision of a working account. Any loan would be repayable at the rate of a minimum of 3 per cent. per annum of the loan issued.

B. J. Surridge, Esq., Cooperative Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, visited Jamaica in the early part of 1949 and he rendered extremely valuable assistance and guidance in the finalising of these proposals. Mr. Surridge voiced the opinion, an opinion which has been shared by many notable persons who have visited Lucky Hill and studied the scheme, that at Lucky Hill has been evolved a pattern for land settlement not only in Jamaica but in the whole of the Colonial Empire.

In concluding this article, as there may be extension of this form of land settlement in Jamaica and already there is information of similar land settlements being considered elsewhere in the West Indies, it may be useful to give a few suggestions based on some of the difficulties which were encountered at Lucky Hill.

#### *Settlers*

The original settlers to form a society should be very carefully selected with due attention to medical examination by an appropriate authority. The aim should be to have a range of age classes, with emphasis on the younger classes. The great need for a high proportion of literate members is stressed and it is necessary that applicants who have only what may be termed a "labourer's mentality"—a desire to receive regular money for work performed—should be rejected. In Jamaica it appears that the most promising applicants would be youths who have undergone training at the Agricultural Practical Training Centres and Student-Apprentice Farmer Courses of the Education Department.

#### *Housing*

Accommodation should be provided right at the start of operations. There can be no community centre until there is adequate housing for all settlers. As the basis of the Society must be the happy family unit the houses should be as comfortable as possible. Housing and other capital works, contrary to what is usually expected, should be performed by outside contractors of hired labour. It is desirable and even necessary to have artisans in the community but in the early days all settlers must be able to give their undivided attention to getting the property into efficient operation.

#### *Supervision*

The original Lucky Hill Scheme provided for the withdrawal of the overseer after the experimental period. It has become obvious that this must not happen. A trained manager is a necessity for all time if the property is to be operated

efficiently. Eventually it is hoped that the son of a settler will be trained to become the manager when his services can be paid for by the Community. Meanwhile the way could be prepared for this step by Government's deducting from the profits of any scheme which is making good progress a limited percentage to help to defray supervision costs.

#### *Financial Administration*

As set out in the Wakefield Memorandum, the financial administration of the Lucky Hill Scheme appeared to be simple and straightforward. In actual fact it proved to be cumbersome and unwieldy and long undue delays in financial matters nearly wrecked the scheme. In any similar undertaking it is stressed that the psychology of the settlers must be given even more consideration than the development of the property. Delays and uncertainty in financial matters are dangerous and militate against progress.

#### *Knowledge, Sympathy and Understanding*

This, a last suggestion, is perhaps most important of all. It is impossible to stress too strongly that all who are in any way to be connected with land settlement of this design should, before operations commence, have a sound working knowledge of the plan in all its many aspects. All factors, all implications, must be thoroughly understood and only those who are in full sympathy with and have every confidence in this form of land settlement should be entrusted with the task of sharing the duties associated with its early administration.

## The Milky Way

DR. T. W. J. TAYLOR,  
Principal of the University College of the West Indies

WHEN ON A CLEAR NIGHT with no moon we stroll into our gardens and look at the heavens, we see the arch of closely packed stars called the Milky Way stretching across the sky. It often looks as a luminous cloud of irregular width, brighter in some parts and with curious dark patches in others. Though to the eye it looks like a luminous belt, it does not need a very powerful telescope to show that it consists of a dense collection of stars, most of them too faint for the human eye to see as points of light, but so many that together they give the effect of a cloud. The human eye is an admirable instrument for earthly purposes, one of the best optical instruments known, but not sensitive enough for astronomical purposes such as this. There are only about ten thousand stars bright enough to be seen by the eye as separate stars and of these not more than one third are visible at one time.

Telescopes backed up by photography can see much more. For this there are two main reasons. First a telescope can be made with a much wider opening to take in the light than the human eye, which is limited to the diameter of the iris, and so it can gather more light and concentrate it into a brighter image. Secondly the photographic plate goes on collecting an impression until enough has been built up to give something which can be developed, while the eye either sees or does not see. In other words you can prolong a photographic exposure and get an image of a very faint object while with the eye you see no more however long you gaze, after the first period of getting used to the intensity of the light has passed.

Here in the West Indies we are sufficiently far south to see the whole of the Milky Way if we watch throughout the year. In North America or England the southerly part of it, near the Southern Cross, can never be seen. Here we can realize that it is a continuous belt stretching round the heavens. Certain parts are visible at certain times of the year because we cannot see the stars in daylight ; the sun is too bright. If we watch while the seasons pass, some part of it is always there so that it must be a continuous belt of densely congregated stars, much denser than in the other parts of the sky. It must have struck many people as curious that this should be so. If the stars were distributed at random, there would be no concentration of them in one part of the sky. The existence of the Milky Way must mean that there is some particular arrangement which affects a large number of stars but not all.

As we look at the stars, they appear to be attached to the inside of a sphere, or rather of a hemisphere, since we can only see half of the sphere at one time. Of course we know that this is not so. They are at different distances away and if we knew how far the various stars are, we could get a true picture of their arrangement in space and some idea why so many are congregated in one belt. Until we can do this, we cannot expect any satisfactory answer to our problem. It is only comparatively recently, within the last thirty years or so, that it has been possible to measure the distances of many stars. The first distances were measured in 1838 when three stars were successfully dealt with by three separate people ; one of these was the well-known star Vega. The method can only be used for the nearest stars and no new method was worked out until 1890 or so. Thirty years later the third and much more powerful method was discovered at Harvard. Hence the problem under discussion, the structure of the Milky Way, has only been answered during the life-time of many of us.

These methods form the basis of attack and so it is best to give some simple description of them. The first method of 1838 is like ordinary surveying ; a base line of known length is taken and from each end of it the angle is measured which the direction to the object makes with the base line. The distance of the object can then be calculated by simple trigonometry. For the stars the base line is the diameter of the path of the earth round the sun, which is known to be 186 million miles. The angles are measured at intervals of six months when the earth has reached the opposite end of the diameter. The method breaks down for a star at any distance and there are very few which are near. The nearest is about four and a half light years away. The light year is the unit used for such distances, just as the yard is used for measuring cloth. Light travels fast so that it is a large unit, but the distances are large. Light takes eight and a half minutes to travel from the sun to the earth

so that a star at four and a half light years is more than 100,000 times as far away as the sun. This method can be used up to about 600 light years and then becomes too inaccurate. It can be extended by the second method which is difficult to explain in simple terms because it involves so much physics. Let us leave it by saying that it reaches out further than the first, but is limited to stars which give enough light to be split up into its various wave-lengths by a prism or grating and even then it is limited to stars of a certain type, the so-called F stars. The third method is the most important for our present purpose. It is generally known that many of the stars are variable, that is, their brightness is not constant but goes through a cycle. Starting from their brightest stage, they grow fainter down to a minimum and then brighter up to a maximum and this cycle is repeated indefinitely. There are several types of variable stars; some are irregular like the bright star Betelgeuse which forms the head of Orion, but many are completely regular and go on with exactly the same time elapsing between two successive maxima, the same period as it is called. The North Star, Polaris, is one of these with a period of not quite four days and there are many others with periods varying from a few hours up to eleven days. In 1906 Miss Leavitt of Harvard noticed something about these stars, which are called Cepheid Variables, in a star cluster in the southern sky, one of the Magellanic Clouds. These are called after the great navigator, Magellan, who got far south enough in his circumnavigation of South America to see them well and was the first to describe them. Miss Leavitt noticed that there is a relation between the brightness of these Cepheids and their period; the brighter the star the longer the period and the fainter the star the shorter the period. These clusters are so far away that it can be assumed for all practical purposes that all the stars in them are at the same distance from the earth. Hence if we measure the period, we can predict the brightness and *vice versa*. Now the apparent brightness of a star depends on two things, its actual brightness and how far it is away, just as a street light has a constant brightness, but gets fainter the further one walks away from it. If we know the actual brightness and observe the apparent brightness, we can calculate the actual or absolute brightness. Shapley of Harvard used these facts to construct a new method of measuring star distances. Certain Cepheids are close enough for their distances to be measured by the older methods. Their apparent brightnesses can be calculated. Their periods as variable stars are also known and from these data we can say that a certain period means a certain absolute brightness. If we then go to a variable star at an unknown distance, we can measure the period and now can interpret this as an absolute brightness. But the apparent brightness can be measured, so that the distance can be calculated. This third method can be extended to any group of stars which contains Cepheid variables and has been used for distances up to 130 million light years. This is a very long way indeed and gives some idea of the enormous scale on which the universe is constructed. It means that light from an object at that distance has completed 99 per cent. of its journey to the earth by the time that the human race began. In spite of this fact, there is no doubt that these distances are real and can be measured with comparative accuracy.

Armed with these facts we can return to the Milky Way and proceed to discuss its true shape. If the distances of a fair number of characteristic stars belonging to it are measured, their positions in space can be plotted and we can see whether

it is really the flat belt which it appears to be. Sir William Herschel first tried to do this in the middle of the nineteenth century. He got something like the right answer in spite of the paucity of his data, but nowadays there is such a mass of evidence that there can be no doubt. To give the answer first and discuss later how it reached, it can be said that the Milky Way is a collection of stars to which our sun belongs and which has the shape of a circular flattened disk thickened in the middle of a sort of hub. Looked at from one angle it is a circle and from a direction at right angles to the first it is a cigar with a marked bulge in the middle. The sun, and therefore ourselves, is placed out in the thin part away from the centre. There is really no sharp edge to the collection, but the density of stars thins out to leave a region of higher density of this shape. There may also be a roughly spherical distribution of stars, rather sparse, in which this disk arrangement is embedded. The centre is where the star density is greatest and we should expect it to be in the direction of the brightest part of the Milky Way. This is true since the centre is in the direction of the constellation Sagittarius. The centre is about 40,000 light years away from us and the whole galaxy, as it is called, is very large with a diameter of about 100,000 light years and about 10,000 light years thick in the middle. This at once accounts for the belt-like appearance of the Milky Way. We are in a rather flat collection of stars so that if we look along any other direction, there are fewer stars. There will be a belt round the heavens in which we see stars densely congregated. One can imagine oneself living inside a flattish bun and looking out from it in various directions.

The evidence for this conclusion is manifold and the following points are examples. First there is the distribution of particular kinds of stellar objects, such as the globular clusters which are quite bright and can be seen at great distances. About one hundred are known and one, in Hercules, is a naked-eye object. Shapley worked out the distribution in space of these ; if it is taken to be the framework of the shape of the galaxy, that is, if we assume that the globular clusters are equally distributed throughout the galaxy, we get the shape which has been described above. Next we can take the novae, the new stars which flare up from time to time ; their positions, which have been recorded for many years, agree with the same picture. Then there is the laborious business of star counts, which is simply the counting of all stars down to a particular magnitude. An entirely different method of attack is given by the so-called star-streaming phenomenon. If the shape of the galaxy is as described, it must be rotating since this alone can give a reason for its flatness, just as the earth is flattened at the poles by the gravitational effects due to rotation. If the galaxy rotates, the sun, and ourselves, must be moving round the centre and so must all the other members of the galaxy. Now simple gravitational theory demands that the members closer to the centre move faster than those further out. Thus the stars between us and the centre are going round faster than we are and those outside us more slowly. We can measure the speeds of the stars relative to the earth by means of the spectroscope and from these speeds we can deduce the direction of the centre about which the galaxy is rotating and its distance away from the earth. The position, in Sagittarius, and the distance, 40,000 light years, agree completely with the deductions made by the other methods. We can also deduce the time taken for the sun to make one complete revolution round the centre ; it is about 250 million years. The earth has existed for at least 3,000 million years, so that the sun has done twelve turns

round the centre since the earth was formed. Another way of confirming the picture leads conveniently to the next topic. One way of finding the shape of anything is to put it up against a bright background and see what shape the dark obscure part of the background has. There are plenty of celestial objects which do not belong to our galaxy. Of naked-eye stars there is about one at the galactic pole, that is, the direction at right angles to that of the Milky Way, to three and a half in the galactic plane, while for all stars down to magnitude 21, which is about as far as the big telescopes go, there is one at the pole to 44 in the plane, so that there is no lack of bright objects to form a background. Among them there are objects at a great distance which do not occur in the galactic plane at all and these are called nebulae. They are very characteristic and quite different from stars ; only one is visible to the naked eye, the Great Nebula in Andromeda, and that can only be seen under the best conditions. Photographs taken with the 100-inch telescope, however, show incredible numbers of them and it is estimated that there are 200 million which could be photographed by a telescope of that size if anyone had the time to do it. The first point of interest is how these nebulae are distributed in space. There are so many that the chance is very high that they would appear equally dotted about in every direction if we were isolated and alone in space. This is not so : in the galactic plane and on each side of it none can be seen, but on going towards the galactic pole they appear comparatively suddenly and their frequency remains fairly constant all the way to that pole. This suggests at once that something is blotting out part of the picture and the shape of the something so deduced agrees quite well with the shape of our galaxy deduced in the other ways. The reason for the blotting out is that our galaxy contains a good deal of what is called cosmic dust, very fine particles which in consequence have a high power of absorbing light. It is this dust which is responsible for the black patches that can be seen so easily in the Milky Way.

The next logical question to ask is whether this galaxy, of which the earth is a humble member, is unique or peculiar, or whether there are other objects like it in the sky. Of the 20 million nebulae which have been referred to, about three-quarters have a shape which is very like the shape which has been proved for our galaxy. Some are irregular in outline, but most are disk-like and they can be seen from all sorts of angles so that some look like circles, others like cigars swollen in the middle and others are tilted and look like ovals. At first sight this seems a very large number of nebulae, but if contrasted with other populations, it is not so large. For example the human population of the earth in 1940 was about 2,100 millions, so that there is only one nebula for every 100 people alive. Oddly enough 20 millions is also the milk production of the earth in gallons a year, excluding countries like Russia, China and India which do not record their milk production. The number of nebulae must be very much smaller than the number of insects alive on the earth at any moment ; there are at least three million separate species of insects and no one knows how many members there are of each species ; there must be millions in certain species, so that the total of insects must be several millions times as great as that of nebulae visible in the 100-inch telescope. To return to our galaxy ; these facts show that it is not unique and not peculiar, but a representative of a large class. Many of the nebulae are spiral in appearance with a disk-like centre and two arms sweeping out in spirals from it. These furnish some of the most splendid objects, but can only be seen in the big telescopes. Our

galaxy may be of this spiral type and some astronomers think that the sun may be in an arm of the spiral, but the evidence is not conclusive and the answer will not be known until the evidence has accumulated.

There is another interesting point which shows that our galaxy is nothing out of the ordinary. It has been observed that the distant nebulae in most cases occur in groups which, comparatively speaking, contain several nebulae close together. Why this should be so, no one knows ; it is just an observed fact. Hence it would be expected that a few nebulae should be closer to our galaxy than the rest so as to form a group. To be in the fashion, as it were, we should have companion galaxies. This proves to be true. The distance of some nebulae can be measured because they contain Cepheid variables and that of others can be estimated by assuming that the new stars, novae, which flare up in them, are of the same brightness as the novae in our galaxy. Another way of estimating their distances is to assume that all galaxies are roughly of the same size, an assumption justified by the sizes of those where direct measurement is possible. Most of them come out to be a very long way off, anything from six million to one hundred million light years, but there are a few which are much nearer, notably the nebula in Orion which is known quite accurately to be 800,000 light years away and the two Clouds of Magellan at about the same distance but in another direction. These latter are irregular and not spirals. There is another spiral, M33 in Triangulum, which is only a little further away. It therefore appears that our galaxy is a member of a group, just as those at a great distance fall into groups. For the closer nebulae it is a simple matter to measure their size, as far as one can for a thing which has no true edge. The two spirals, in Andromeda and Triangulum, are both a little smaller than our galaxy, with about two-thirds of the diameter, but this does not mean that they are really very different. In our own galaxy we can see, and hence measure, the fainter outer parts of it, while with the other two they are so far away that we cannot see the outer part which is almost certainly there. It may well be that their size is much the same as that of ours and the conclusion to draw is that we cannot claim our galaxy to be special or peculiar in any way, but probably very similar to the millions of others which populate the sky.

## Reviews

**THE SUNLIT CARIBBEAN** — Alec Waugh. — (Evans Brothers Ltd., London, 1948, 127 pp.)

TOURIST books are often baffling exhibitions to the inhabitants of the areas concerned : *The Sunlit Caribbean* will even stump the tourist.

Somehow, Mr. Waugh manages to feature an immigrant London crooner, a frustrated New York lecture agent, and an obeahed French colonial official, in his treatment of the three islands, St. Lucia, Dominica, and Martinique. The rest of the Caribbean—and the author must admit this is considerable—receives a spotty survey in three general chapters. Rather irrelevantly, Tahiti comes in for more attention than most of the West Indian isles. The Spanish-speaking territories are given short shift—they have “lain outside the general pattern of West Indian life.” (p. 117). One wonders, on the basis of this attitude, how a Spanish tourist might be expected to refer to the English-speaking islands.

Apart from unbalanced content, errors of fact detract from the authority of the book. The nineteenth century sugar depression is ascribed directly to Emancipation; the fact that the decline had set in more than a generation earlier, as far as the British islands were concerned, is ignored. (p. 27). The statement that Jamaica was captured “under Cromwell’s orders by Penn and Venables” is certainly misleading since those two gentlemen, while under Cromwell’s orders, had been instructed to do something quite different. (p. 115). Although Mr. Waugh notes the

diversities of the islands, he writes generalities and it is sometimes difficult to ascertain which imperial power’s possessions he has in mind. Thus some of his statements which appear questionable may be so because the reference is not clear, rather than that they do not apply to some undefined area.

The several photographs are singularly dull scenes considering the animated possibilities of the typical West Indian tourist haven.

Throughout the book there is the suggestion that Mr. Waugh would like very much to talk about his near-past adventures during the war period, but he has been commissioned to attempt to glean tourist titbits from his more distant, and certainly sketchy, Caribbean experience. Which is a pity!

The best of *The Sunlit Caribbean* are the chapters on Martinique. These are reprints in the main, and may be read to better advantage in *Most Women* and *The Coloured Countries* (titled *Hot Countries* in the American edition). The latter books are much more substantial efforts than the work under review.

If a tourist wishes to get behind the scenes, a book such as this should be helpful if it be worthy of the name. *The Sunlit Caribbean* fails miserably. For example, when it refers to the problem of colour prejudice in the British islands the couple or so pages are so inadequate as to be useless—and unfair. To look at the slums of western Kingston and ruminate on the misery of freedom and the paternalism of slavery is fastening blinkers on the tourist.

Considering the lack of content, the title is most extraordinary.

PAUL REDWOOD.

**THE NEGRO IN AMERICA**—Arnold Rose.—(Harper and Bros., New York, 1948, 321 pp.)

*An American Dilemma* is a book—already acclaimed as a classic of a type with which the West Indies may not be blessed for generations to come. Ignorance and prejudice in the islands are comparatively unchallenged by scientific social studies.

In 1937, the Carnegie Corporation of New York began negotiations with the noted Swedish economist, Gunnar Myrdal, to get him to direct "a comprehensive study of the Negro in the United States, to be undertaken in a wholly objective and dispassionate way as a social phenomenon". That is just what *An American Dilemma* is; *The Negro in America* is a 300-page condensation of the 1,500-page work.

The original study was a team project; besides using the extensive literature on the problem, a battery of experts attacked some of the special aspects and produced monographs. The author had the assistance of two specialists in writing up the mass of collected information. Arnold Rose, who is responsible for the condensation, was one of these assistants. Professor Myrdal has written the foreword to *The Negro in America* and therein testifies to the faithfulness of the abridgment. He points out, however, that "The condensation is . . . more definitely focussed on the Negro problem as such . . ." This inevitable shortcoming is not minor. With "the supporting evidence" missing, the reader who is unfamiliar with the American scene may be put off balance by the sharp impact of the work. Condensations are so often sought for by those least able to manage them.

From the start, Professor Myrdal faces the issue:

*The American Dilemma* is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the values which we shall call the "American Creed", where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian morals, and, on the other hand, the values of individual and group living, where personal and local interests . . . dominate his outlook.

(p. 10)

He then proceeds to examine American life—not just the White or the Negro community—on this question. At each step he outlines the principled profession, and then details the variable practice. North and South. City and country. Black and white. How the situation seems to be getting worse, and how it is getting better. "Race Beliefs and Facts", "The Old Plantation Economy and the New", "Economic Discrimination and How it Works", "The Basic Political Factors", "The Basis of Social Inequality", "Caste and Class", "The Unequal Administration of Justice", "Negro Leadership and the Negro Protest". Chapters such as these, with their dispassionate content, are meaningful, useful, to the members of a black and white society anywhere in the world; a value not less where racial discrimination does not have the doubtful distinction of being legal.

Not the least iniquitous side of racial prejudice is that evident when the non-white believes the lie of white superiority. If a predominantly black or coloured community has generally accepted this false belief but maintains justice on the basis of equality, the hypocrisy of the situation is patent. Though the conflict of values is more or less under cover, it is there. The need for scientific thinking, education, is there, as it is in the northern states where there is justice but some unofficial discrimination, and in the South where the Negro is the victim both in the court and in the society at large. The author notes how the intensive research of recent years is gradually emancipating both white and black from the bondage of ignorance. As he says, "The last two or three decades . . . have seen a revolution in scientific thought on the racial characteristics of the Negro." (p. 34). This is indeed a palatable, and long overdue, truth for the Negro. He adds—

But the whites have been very slow to change their ideas, since the findings of modern science do not coincide with their interest in defending the caste order. However, it is now becoming difficult for even popular writers to express other views than the ones of racial equalitarianism and still retain intellectual respect. This is true even in the South. Research and education are bolstering the American

Creed in its influence toward greater equalitarianism. (p. 35)

As critical as an outsider may be of the treatment of Negroes in the United States, and particularly in the South, he can hardly fail to be impressed with the evidence in this book of the powerful attacks by liberal forces on the problem and the rapidity of change. These changes bring new problems. It is increasingly difficult to keep the Negro in his "place"; prejudice is aggravated. (p. 223). The poor whites of the South find their position more in jeopardy as unionism spreads. "Many of the new unions have a policy of 'no discrimination against Negroes'." (p. 200). Friction increases as the Federal Government presses the southern states to liberalize. More Negroes are educated and more vote; fewer Negro leaders are "accommodating"—more are protesting.

All this stirring up is not without dangers for the Negro.

As Negro institutions are improved and increasingly manned exclusively by Negro professionals, segregation is undoubtedly becoming strengthened in America. Powerful Negro vested interests in segregation are thus created. . . . the rise of the Negro protest . . . means intensified "race pride" and . . . voluntary withdrawal and increasing isolation of Negroes from the larger American scene. (p. 260-1).

Yet notwithstanding changing difficulties which often seem to involve proverbial vicious circles, the overall situation is not of a circle, but, as the author declares, a spiral. Good is being increasingly manifested. Of this, a glance at the historical record gives irrefutable proof.

One could say that this or that aspect of the problem is underdone, e.g., the religious, or overdone, e.g., the economic, but the study is so grand in scope that anything short of a leisurely discussion of the disputed emphasis would be an injustice.

The complete two volumes of *An American Dilemma* are essential reading for the student of race problems. *The Negro in America* in its compactness which is yet comprehensive, is a remarkable achievement of condensation; the general reader who fails to acquaint himself with it is losing a unique opportunity of gaining an insight into the United States' problem of conscience.

PAUL REDWOOD

**THE GUIANA EDITION**—Published  
by the *Daily Chronicle* in George-  
town, British Guiana.

THE demand for books on the history of the West Indies and the Caribbean is one of those permanent headaches which all who are connected with Adult Education have to suffer. Old works may sometimes be read in libraries, but they are so honeycombed with worms, so decayed, that even if they are legible they may not be taken out. So one rejoices to come upon the enterprise which Mr. Vincent Roth and the *Daily Chronicle* of Georgetown have shown in publishing a series of reprints—The Guiana Edition. Since 1942 fourteen of the series have appeared, and eight of these are historical in character.

*Travels in South America* by Adriaan van Berkel (who, "incited by a wholesome desire to visit foreign climes and countries" joined a trading expedition in Amsterdam in 1670), contains an interesting description of the Arawaks in British Guiana and the touchy Dutch Colonisers, and though the writer is anxious to recommend the "wonders" to his friends of the great city of Amsterdam he restrains himself and must be judged accurate in observations, though often wild in his conclusions.

Guiana at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth is described by Henry Bolingbroke in *A Voyage to Demerary 1799-1806*, and Dr. George Pinckard's *Letters from Guiana 1797-1799*. The attitudes of these two writers are sharply contrasted. Pinckard a physician to the British forces is a humane, painstaking teller of his own experiences, with a very personal style. Bolingbroke is a man of much broader outlook, prepared to make large generalisations in the true manner of the eighteenth century whose grand style he imitates with unconscious humour as :

It is fortunate when by a rare chance, the Governor brings with him a wife. Few married English women, of rank and character, are at any time induced to make their appearance in these distant edges of the world, to exhibit the fashions of domestic ele-

gance, and teach the graces of moral dignity. The female servants and humble companions of such married ladies very commonly attach themselves independently and advantageously in the colonies; and produce by their stay a great and lasting effect in civilizing the local manners, and transplanting those feminine arts of life, which our tawny wenches never saw exemplified. From imitating the dresses of the white ladies, they will proceed to imitate usages of a higher importance.

Amongst other interesting musings, he recommends the organisation of a scientific survey of the natural resources of Guiana the importation of Chinese immigrant, labour, and wants to see "Nathan der Weise", a play about a Jew by the great German Lessing, produced in Paramaribo to diminish prejudices against the Jews, whilst he remains a believer in the

economic necessity of slavery.

Four further volumes in this edition are : *A Soldier's Sojourn in British Guiana*, by Lt. Thomas St. Clair 1806-08 ; *Demerara Martyr*, memoirs of Rev. John Staunton Smith by Rev. A. Waldrige 1848; *Experiences of a Demerary Magistrate* by Sir G. William des Voeux 1865-1870 and *Twenty-five Years in British Guiana* by Henry Urich 1872-1897. Finally Peter Ruhomon's *East Indians in British Guiana* supplies much valuable information on this subject. It is clear that none of the writers mentioned are professional historians and it is true that many of the assertions made by them are open to question. But taken altogether, they make an excellent pool of original material for the study of West Indian History for those whose critical faculties are alive, and they also reflect various streams of European thought for a period of nearly 300 years.

